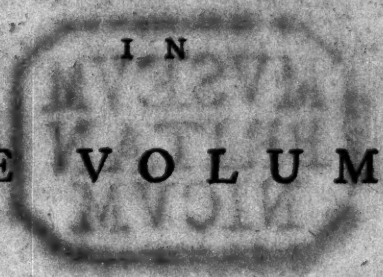
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THE SELECT WORKS OF *WILLIAM PENN.*

IN FIVE VOLUMES.



VOL. V.

THE THIRD EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY JAMES PHILLIPS IN GEORGE-YARD, LOMBARD-STREET.

M DCC LXXXII.

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OF

WILLIAM PENN.

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A KEY,

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OPENING THE WAY

TO EVERY CAPACITY

HOW TO DISTINGUISH THE

RELIGION profeſſed by the PEOPLE

CALLED

QUAKERS

FROM THE

PERVERSIONS and MISREPRESENTATIONS

OF

THEIR ADVERSARIES.

WITH

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ALL SORTS OF PEOPLE,

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Examine their WAYS and their HEARTS, and turn ſpeedily to the LORD.

Publiſhed in the Year 1692.

THE
INTRODUCTION.

READER,

OBſerving the prevailing power of prejudice, and the too great eaſineſs of mankind to be impoſed upon by deſigning perſons, and eſpecially on the ſide of uncharitableneſs, (ſo depraved is the nature of man) and conſidering alſo what miſchievous effects that evil has produced among too many of all ſorts of people, to the hurt of civil as well as religious ſociety, by the coldneſs, jealouſy, uncharitableneſs, and animoſity, even to hatred and perſecution, (the very contrary and reverſe of the true Chriſtian religion) that have thereby abounded; we have the leſs wondered at the hard treatment we, as a people, have ſuffered from other perſuaſions, almoſt all of them having in their turn, ſome, I hope, ignorantly, others, I fear, wilfully, miſrepreſented our principles, miſgiven our plain meanings, and called their own ſtrained interpretations, aye, and their downright perverſions too, our faith and religion: and thus dreſſing us in the bear's-ſkin, the credulous have been excited to look upon and treat us as hereticks, ſeducers, blaſphemers, and what not; while (bleſſed be God) our aim and bent have been the very power and work of religion upon our ſouls, that we might be God's workmanſhip through Chriſt Jeſus, his bleſſed Son and heavenly Agent; taking this to be the very life and ſoul of true religion; the effect and fruit of the divine nature, which makes us Chriſtians indeed here, and fits us for glory hereafter. And becauſe we have choſen retirement, moderation, ſelf-denial, which to be ſure are the ſolids and inwards, the ſpirit and ſubſtance of religion, and have therefore waved and ſequeſtered ourſelves from more outward and pompous communions, offence has been taken at us, and we have been

diſingenuouſly repreſented to the world: on which account I have publiſhed this little treatiſe, for the ſake of others, as well as in our own vindication, but theirs eſpecially that are under prejudices from vulgar abuſes. I would intreat ſuch to conſider, that if it be an evil to judge raſhly or untruly of any ſingle man, how much greater a ſin it is to condemn an whole people: and if the matter about which the judgment is made, renders it more or leſs evil, certainly to condemn the religion of an whole people in the lump, which at once comprehends their faith, worſhip, and morals alſo, muſt be, if falſe or miſtaken, as great an injuſtice as can well be committed; and the Almighty will not hold them guiltleſs that have been ſo uncharitable and injurious to their neighbours. And this we have frequently lamented as our great unhappineſs, above all that our enemies have been able argumentatively to urge againſt us, that we are yet *unknown* of thoſe that ſtick not to *condemn* us. But they muſt certainly be inexcuſable, with juſt minds, that will take our belief at our *enemies* rather than at our *own* hands, who beſt ought to know what we believe. But it will be the buſineſs of this little KEY to explain the pretended obſcurity, and ſhew the difference between our principles, and the vulgar account and apprehenſions, and thereby open a way into ſo clear and plain an underſtanding of our true principles, from our enemies perverſions, that we hope, with God's bleſſing, all impartial inquirers will be ſatisfied of our holy and Chriſtian profeſſion: and this we alſo earneſtly deſire for their good, that as we have been called of God, out of the evil of the world, to be a people to his praiſe, through his grace, ſo none may ſtumble or be offended at the truth we teſtify of; but ſeeing the excellency of it, by the peace and purity it leads into, they may embrace it, and walk in it; which is the beſt way to end controverſy, and obtain the great and true end of religion, the ſalvation of the ſoul.

A KEY,

A

KEY, &c.

SECT. I.

Of the Light within, what it is, and the virtue and benefit of it to man.

Perverſion 1. 'THE *Quakers* hold, that the *natu-* 'ral light in the conſcience of 'every man in the world, is ſufficient to ſave all that 'follow it; and ſo they overthrow ſalvation by *Chriſt*.' A mighty error indeed, if it were *true*.

Principle. But it is, at beſt, a great miſtake: for their belief and aſſertion is, "That Chriſt, who is the "Word, that was *with* God, and *was* God; (and *is* "ſo *for ever*) hath lighted *every* man that cometh "into the world, with his *own* light,[a]" as he is that *true* light, or *ſuch* a light, as there is no other to be compared with him; which is the meaning of the emphaſis *true* in the text, John i. 9. And that ſuch as follow the reproofs, convictions, and leadings of that light, with which he enlightens the underſtandings and conſciences of men, ſhall not walk in *darkneſs*, that is, in *evil* and *ignorance* of God, but ſhall have the *light* of *life*; that is, be in a *holy* and *living* ſtate or condition towards God: a ſtate of *acceptance* and *ſalvation*; which is, from *ſin* here, as well as from *wrath* hereafter; and for which end Chriſt was given

[a] John i. 1, 9.

of God.[b] So that they aſſert the *light* of *Chriſt* to be *ſufficient* to *ſave*; that is, to *convince* of ſin, *lead out* of it, and *quicken* the ſoul in the ways of holineſs; and not to be a *natural* light, otherwiſe than as *all* men, *born* into the world, have a meaſure of *Chriſt*'s light; and ſo it may, in a ſenſe, be ſaid to be *natural* to all men, becauſe all men *have it* coming into the world. For this light is *ſomething elſe* than the bare *underſtanding* man hath as a *rational* creature; ſince, as ſuch, man cannot be a *light* to himſelf; but has only a *capacity* of *ſeeing*, by means of the light with which Chriſt, the Word, enlighteneth him. For we can no more be a *mental* or *intellectual* light to ourſelves, than we are an *external* and *corporeal* light to ourſelves: but as the *ſun* in the firmament is the *light* of our BODIES, ſo the *light* of the Divine *Word*, is the *ſun* of our SOULS; the glorious *luminary* of the *intellectual* world; and they that walk in it, will by it be led to bleſſedneſs.[c]

Perverſ. 2. 'The *Quakers* hold, that the *light* with-
'in them is *God*, *Chriſt*, and the *Holy Spirit*: ſo that
'every Quaker has *whole* God, Chriſt, and Holy Spi-
'rit, in him; which is groſs blaſphemy.'

Principle. This is alſo a miſtake of their belief: they never ſaid that *every* divine *illumination*, or *manifeſtation*, of Chriſt, in the hearts of men, was *whole* God, *Chriſt*, or the *Spirit*; which might render them guilty of that groſs and blaſphemous abſurdity ſome would faſten upon them: but that *God*, who is *light*, or the Word *Chriſt*, who is *light*, ſtiled "the Second "Adam, the Lord from heaven, and the quickening "Spirit, who is God over all bleſſed for ever," hath enlightened mankind with a *meaſure* of ſaving light; who ſaid, "I am the light of the world; and they "that follow me, ſhall not abide in darkneſs, but "have the light of life.[d]" So that the illumination

[b] See Iſa. xlix. 6. John i. 4, 9. c. iii. 21. c. v. 40. c. viii. 12. c. x. 10. [c] Rev. xxi. 24. [d] John i. 4, 8, 12. 1 Cor. xv. 45, 47.

is *from* God, or Chriſt, the Divine Word; but not therefore that *whole* God, or *Chriſt*, is in every man, any more than the *whole ſun*, or *air*, is in every houſe or chamber. There are no ſuch harſh and unſcriptural words in their writings. It is only a *frightful perverſion* of ſome of their enemies, to bring an odium upon their holy faith. Yet, in a ſenſe, the *ſcriptures* ſay it; and that is *their* ſenſe; in which, *only*, they ſay the ſame thing. "I will walk in them, and *dwell* in "them. He that dwelleth *with* you, ſhall be *in* "you: I will not leave you comfortleſs, I will *come* "to you: I in *them*, and they in *me*: Chriſt in *us*, "the hope of glory. Unleſs Chriſt be in *you*, ye "are reprobates. Little children, of whom I travail "again in birth, until Chriſt be formed *in* you."[e] Now if they who denied his coming in the fleſh, though high-profeſſing Jews, were to be accounted Antichriſts, becauſe enemies to that appearance and diſpenſation of God to men; what muſt they be reputed, who as ſtiffly diſown his *inward*, *nearer*, and more *ſpiritual* coming, formation, and dominion in the ſoul; which is to be ſure the higher and nobler knowledge of Chriſt? Yea, "the myſtery hid from ages,"[f] and now revealed to God's people: "the riches of "the glory of the myſtery which God reſerved to be "made known to the Gentiles," of whoſe ſtock we are. Certainly though they are called Chriſtians, they muſt be no whit leſs Antichriſts than thoſe obſtinate Jews of old, that oppoſed his more viſible and bodily appearance.

Perverſ. 3. 'By the *Quakers* doctrine, every man 'muſt be *ſaved*; for every man, they ſay, is *ſavingly* 'enlightened.'

Principle. Not ſo neither: for though the *light*, or *grace*, of God hath and doth more or leſs appear to all men, and that it brings ſalvation to as many as are

[e] John xiv. 3, 17, 18, 20. Col. i. 26, 27. 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Gal. iv. 19. [f] Col. i. 27.

taught by it to "deny ungodlineſs, and worldly luſts, "and to live ſoberly, and righteouſly, and godly in "this preſent world," as the ſcripture teacheth; yet it no ways follows that men *muſt* obey, and *learn* ſo to do, whether they *will* or not. God tenders *ſaving* light or grace to *all*, and by it calls all, and ſtrives and pleads with all, according to the meaſure and manifeſtation of it: but if they will not *hearken* to it, he is clear of their blood.[g] His light is *ſaving*, that lighteth them; but it cannot be ſaid to *ſave* them, while they *rebel* againſt it. In ſhort, though men are lightened or viſited with a *ſaving* light or grace, yet the Quakers never concluded, nor can it rightly be concluded from their teſtimony, that ſuch men muſt *neceſſarily* and *abſolutely* be ſaved, whether they *obey*, or *rebel*.

Perverſ. 4. 'By the *Quakers* light or ſpirit, they 'may be moved to murder, adultery, treaſon, theft, or 'any ſuch-like wickedneſs; becauſe they ſay that ſuch 'as are ſo led, have the light within them.'

Principle. This never was their doctrine, nor is it conſequent of it: for though they hold that all *have* light, they never ſaid that all *obeyed* it, or that evil men, *as* ſuch, or in *ſuch* things, were *led* by it: much leſs could the light be chargeable with the ſins of thoſe that refuſed to be led by it. For *herein* they know the Spirit of *God*, and the motions of it, from the ſpirit of *this* world, and its fruits, 'that the Spirit of *God* con-'demns all *ungodlineſs*, and moves and inclines to *purity*, 'mercy, and *righteouſneſs*,' which are of *God*.[h]

They deny and abominate that looſe and ranting mind, which would charge the Spirit of God with their *unholy liberty*. God's Spirit makes people *free* from ſin, and not to *commit* ſin. Neither do they diſtinguiſh, as ſuch looſe people wickedly do, between

[g] John iii. 20, 21. Tit. ii. 11, 12. Gen. vi. 5. Ezek. xviii. 21, 22, 23, 24. Mic. vi. 8. 1 Tim. ii. 4. 2 Pet. iii. 9. Job vii. 17, 18. chap. xxi. 17. chap. xxiv. 13. [h] John iii. 20, 21. Gal. v. 16, 26.

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the *act*, and the *evil* of it. Wherefore they ſay, 'That as the *tree* is known and denominated by its 'fruits; ſo *ſpirits* are by their *influences*, *motions*, and 'inclinations: and the Spirit of *God* never did incline any one to *evil*.' And for that cauſe they renounce this conſtruction of the ranters, 'That evil is *no* evil, 'when they are *led* to it by God's *Spirit*:' for that groſsly implies, as if the Spirit of God led man at any time to that which is evil *in itſelf*; or that it were poſſible to be *ſinleſs* in the *commiſſion* of *ſin*, as murder, theft, adultery, revenge, &c. For that never was, nor can be, the way and method of God's Spirit, which is *pure* and *holy* for ever; and brings all, that regard the convictions and motions of it, into a *ſenſe* and *ſorrow* for *ſin*, and ſo leads them into a ſtate of *reformation*; without which, all profeſſion of religion is mere formality and hypocriſy. So that man's ſin and deſtruction are of *himſelf*; but his help is in *God alone*, through Jeſus Chriſt, our bleſſed Sacrifice and Sanctifier.

SECT. II.

Of *Infallibility* and *Perfection*.

Perverſ. 5. 'The *Quakers* muſt be all *infallible* and 'perfect, if they have ſuch an infallible *light* in them.'

Principle. No ſuch matter: this is alſo a great abuſe of their true meaning. They ſay, 'the principle is 'pure, perfect, unerrable, *in itſelf*; or elſe it were 'very unfit to lead men out of error and impurity.' But they never did aſſert *themſelves* ſuch, merely becauſe it was *within* them: by no means. But that all who are *led* by it, and live according to its manifeſtation, are *ſo* far perfect; and *ſo* far infallible in the right way, as they are *led* by it, and not a jot *farther*. For it is not *opinion*, or *ſpeculation*, or *notions*, of what is true[1]; or aſſent to, or the ſubſcription of, articles or

[1] Rom. viii. 4.

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propoſitions, though never ſo ſoundly worded, that, according to *their* ſenſe, makes a man a *true* believer, or a *true* Chriſtian: but it is a *conformity* of *mind* and *practice* to the *will* of *God*, in all holineſs of converſation, according to the dictates of this divine principle of light and life in the ſoul, which denotes a perſon truly a child of God. "For the children of God "are led by the Spirit of God; but if any man have "not the Spirit of Chriſt, he is none of his.[k]" And let it be noted, that though this ſpiritual principle be *in* man, yet, it is not *of* man, but of *God*, through Jeſus Chriſt. Who can lay down a more independent doctrine upon *ſelf*, and a more depending one upon the *grace* or *gift* of *God?* Let us not, I pray, be miſtaken, nor ſuffer for ſuch miſapprehenſions, nor be made to hold what we do not, on purpoſe to diſrepute us with ſober people, or to ſupport the miſtaken charges of our enemies. Yet to ſhew that a ſtate of perfection from ſin (though not in fulneſs of *wiſdom* and *glory*) is attainable in this life; they, among others, refer them to theſe ſcriptures, which, for brevity's ſake, are not ſet down at large, but the reader is deſired to turn to them.

Gen. xvii. 1. Deut. xviii. 13. Job i. 1, 8. ch. ii. 3, &c. viii. 20. Pſal. xviii. 32. Pſal. xxxvii. 37. and cxix. 1. Prov. ii. 21. Mat. v. 48. Luke vi. 40. 1 Cor. ii. 6. 2 Cor. xiii. 9, 11. Eph. iv. 13. 1 Theſ. iii. 10. 2 Tim. iii. 17. Jam. i. 4. 1 Pet. v. 10. Heb. vi. 1. 1 John vi. 7, 8, 9. ch. ii. 20, 27. ch. iii. 5, 6, 7, 8. ch. iv. 17.

SECT. III.

Of the *Scriptures*, their *truth*, *authority*, and *ſervice*.

Perverſ. 6. 'The *Quakers* deny the *ſcriptures*; for 'they deny them to be the *word of God*.'

[k] Rom. viii. 9, 14.

Principle.

Principle. They own and ſtile the ſcriptures, as they own and ſtile *themſelves*; viz. 'A *declaration* of 'thoſe things moſt truly believed, given forth, in 'former ages, by the inſpiration of the Holy Spirit; 'conſequently that they are profitable for doctrine, 'for reproof, for correction, for inſtruction in righte-'ouſneſs, that the man of God may be perfect, tho-'roughly furniſhed unto all good works.'[l] They are the *form* of *ſound words*. We profeſs to believe them, and read them, and ſay, it is the work we have to do in this world, and the earneſt deſire of our ſouls to Almighty God, that we may feel and witneſs the *fulfilling* of them in and upon ourſelves; that ſo God's will may be done in earth, as it is in heaven. But to call them the *word* of God, (the ground of the charge) which they never call *themſelves*, but which they peculiarly denominate and call *Chriſt* by; in reverence to *Chriſt*, and in no ſlight to *them* (which they believe to be of divine authority, and embrace as the *beſt of books*, and allow to be *as* much the *word* of God, as a *book* can be) they do, as in duty and reaſon bound, attribute that title to *Chriſt only*.

And yet, as the *word* of God may, in ſome ſenſe, ſignify the *command* of God, referring to the *thing* or *matter* commanded, as the *mind* of God, it may be called the *word* of the *Lord*, or *word* of *God*: as, on particular occaſions, the prophets had the *word* of the *Lord* to perſons and places; that is to ſay, the *mind*, or *will*, of God, or that which was commanded them of the Lord to declare or do. So Chriſt uſes it, when he tells the Phariſees, that they had "made the *word* "(or *command*) of God of none effect by their tradi-"tions.[m]" But becauſe people are ſo apt to think, if they have the *ſcriptures* they have *all*; for that they account them the *only* word of God, and ſo look no farther; that is, to no *other* word, from whence thoſe good words *came*: therefore this people have been

[l] Luke i. 1. 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. John i. 4, 14. Rev. xix. 13. [m] Mark vii. 13.

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conſtrained, and they believe by God's good Spirit, once and again to point them to the great Word of words, *Chriſt Jeſus*, in whom is *life*, and that life the *light* of *men*[n]; that they might feel ſomething *nearer* to them than the ſcriptures, to wit, the *word* in the *heart*, from whence all holy ſcripture *came*, which is "Chriſt within them, the hope of their glory.[o]" And, to be ſure, *He* is the only right *expounder*, as well as the *author*, of holy ſcripture; and without whoſe *light*, *ſpirit*, or *grace*, they cannot be *profitably* read, by thoſe that read them.

Perverſ. 7. 'They deny them to be any *means* 'whereby to reſiſt *temptation*.'

Principle. This is a very uncharitable aſperſion. True it is, that they deny the ſcriptures *merely*, or *of themſelves*, to be *ſufficient* to reſiſt temptations; for then all that *have* them, and *read* them, would be ſure to be *preſerved* by them againſt temptations: but that they ſhould deny them to be *any* means, or inſtrument, in God's hand, is either great ignorance, or injuſtice, in their adverſaries. God *hath* made uſe of the ſcriptures, and daily *doth* and *will* make uſe of them, for *inſtruction*, *reproof*, *comfort*, and *edification*, through the *Spirit*, to thoſe that read them as they *ought* to do. *Thus*, they ſay, *they* have felt them, and *ſo* they have been, and are, made unto them, through the good Spirit of God, coming in upon their Spirits, in the reading and conſidering of them; and wiſh heartily they were more in requeſt with the profeſſors of Chriſtianity.

[n] John i. 4. [o] Deut. xxx. 14, Rom. x. 6, 7, 8.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Of the *Holy Spirit* of *God*, and its *office* with reſpect to *man*; and of *Miniſtry*, &c.

Perverſ. 8. 'The *Quakers* aſſert the Spirit of God 'to be the *immediate teacher*, and that there is no *other* 'means now to be uſed, as *miniſtry*, *ordinances*,' &c.

Principle. They never ſpoke ſuch language, and their *daily practice* confutes the reflection. But herein we perceive the great ſubtlety of Satan, as well as in other things, to *darken* the appearance of the truth, and *prepoſſeſs* peoples minds againſt it. For ſince he cannot hinder the exaltation of the *Spirit* above all *viſible* inſtruments, nor the neceſſity of its manifeſtations, convictions, motions, and operations, to be known in the hearts of men, and the great ſuitableneſs thereof to the goſpel-adminiſtration, he would ſpoil all by *over*-doing the matter, and carrying our aſſertions beyond *bounds*: for they *never* denied the uſe of *means*; but, to this day, from the beginning, they have been in the practice of them. But then they are *ſuch* means as are uſed in the *life* and *power* of *God*, and not in and from *man's* mere *wit*, *will*, or carnal *innovation* or *imitation*; the *only* thing they ſtrike at. For inſtance; they cannot own *that* to be a *goſpel*-miniſtry, that is without a goſpel-*ſpirit*; or that ſuch can be *ſent* of God, that are not *taught* of God; or that they are fit to teach *others* what *regeneration* and the *way* to *heaven* are, that have never been *born again* themſelves; or that ſuch can ever bring ſouls to God, that are themſelves *ſtrangers* (like thoſe in the *Acts* xix. 21.) to the baptiſm of *fire*, and the *Holy Ghoſt*; never having been circumciſed with the circumciſion of the *heart* in the *ſpirit*, Rom. ii. 29. Which is ſo abſolutely neceſſary to make a *true Jew*, or a *real Chriſtian*, and much more the requiſite qualification of a *goſpel-miniſtry*.

This

This *unexperienced* and *lifeleſs* miniſtry, is the *only* miniſtry, and ſuch the only *miniſters*, that the people called Quakers cannot *own* and *receive*, and therefore cannot *maintain*. For the *miniſtry* and the *miniſters* that are according to *ſcripture*, they both own, reſpect, and delight in; and are ready to *aſſiſt* and *ſupport*, in their ſervice for God.[p]

It is ſtrange, becauſe they deny all *falſe* means, or means not *ſanctified*, or uſed in the openings and leadings of God's power and Spirit, that therefore they muſt deny *all* means, however rightly uſed or employed. This is an injuſtice to their *profeſſion* and *practice*. Wherefore all are deſired to take notice, that *evangelical means* and *order* they love, and deſire to keep: for they diligently *aſſemble themſelves together* to *wait* upon God, to enable them to *worſhip* him; where they both *pray* and *propheſy*, one by one, as prepared and moved in their hearts by his Spirit, and as any thing is *revealed* to them, according to *primitive practice*; otherwiſe they are *ſilent* before the Lord. Nor are they without *ſpiritual ſongs*, making *melody* in their *hearts* to God their Redeemer, by the ſame Holy Ghoſt, as often as they are comforted and moved by it, as it was the *primitive practice*.[q]

SECT. V.

Of the *Holy Three*, or Scripture *Trinity*.

Perverſ. 'The *Quakers* deny the *Trinity*.'

Principle. Nothing leſs: they believe in the *Holy Three*, or *Trinity* of *Father*, *Word*, and *Spirit*, according to Scripture. And that theſe Three are truly and properly One: of one *nature*, as well as *will*.[r] But they are very tender of quitting *ſcripture* terms and

[p] John xiv. 16, 17, 26. ch. xvi. 13. Acts i. 8. Gal. i. 1, 15, 16. [q] See 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 29, 30, 31. John xvi. 7, 20, 22. Eph. v. 19. Col. iii. 16. [r] John i. 1. c. xiv. 9. Rom. ix. 5. 1 John v. 7. 1 Cor. i. 18, 31. ch. ii. 2.—6. Col. ii. 8.

phraſes

phraſes for *ſchoolmens*; ſuch as, '*diſtinct* and *ſeparate* '*perſons*,' and '*ſubſiſtences*,' &c. are; from whence people are apt to entertain groſs ideas and notions of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. And they judge, that a *curious* enquiry into thoſe high and divine relations, and other ſpeculative ſubjects, though never ſo great truths in themſelves, tend little to godlineſs, and leſs to peace; which ſhould be the chief aim of true Chriſtians: and therefore they cannot gratify that curioſity in themſelves, or others: *ſpeculative* truths being, in their judgment, to be ſparingly and tenderly declared, and never to be made the *meaſure* and *condition* of Chriſtian communion. For beſides that Chriſt Jeſus hath taught them other things, the ſad conſequences, in all times, of *ſuperfining* upon ſcripture-texts, do ſufficiently caution and forbid them. Men are too apt to let their *heads* out-run their *hearts*, and their *notion* exceed their *obedience*, and their *paſſion* ſupport their *conceits*; inſtead of a *daily croſs*, a *conſtant watch*, and an *holy practice*. The deſpiſed Quakers deſire *this* may be *their care*, and the *text* their creed in *this*, as in all other points: preferring *ſelf-denial* to *opinion*, and *charity* to *knowledge*, according to that great Chriſtian doctrine, 1 Cor. xiii.

SECT. VI.

Of the *Divinity* of *Chriſt*.

Perverſ. 10. 'The *Quakers* deny *Chriſt* to be *God*.'

Principle. A moſt untrue and unreaſonable cenſure: for their great and characteriſtical principle being this, 'That *Chriſt*, as the *Divine Word*, lighteth the *ſouls* 'of all men that come into the world, with a *ſpiritual* 'and *ſaving light*, according to John i. 9. ch. viii. '12.' (which nothing but the *Creator* of ſouls *can* do) it does ſufficiently ſhew they believe him to be *God*; for they *truly*, and *expreſsly*, own him to be ſo, according to ſcripture; viz. "In him was life, and that

"life

" life the light of men; and he is God over all, " bleſſed for ever.'"

SECT. VII.

Of the *manhood* of *Chriſt*.

Perverſ. 11. 'The *Quakers* deny the *human nature* 'of *Chriſt*.'

Principle. We never taught, ſaid, or held, ſo groſs a thing, if by *human nature* be underſtood the *manhood* of Chriſt Jeſus. For as we believe him to be *God* over all, bleſſed for ever; ſo we do as truly believe him to be of the *ſeed* of *Abraham* and *David* after the *fleſh*; and therefore truly and properly *man*, " like *us* " in *all* things (and once *ſubject* to all things, for *our* " ſakes) *ſin only* excepted.[t]"

SECT. VIII.

Of *Chriſt Jeſus*, his *death*, and *ſufferings*.

Perverſ. 12. 'The *Quakers* expect to be *juſtified* and 'ſaved by the *light within them*, and not by the *death* 'and *ſufferings* of *Chriſt*.'

Principle. This is both unfairly and untruly ſtated and charged upon us. But the various ſenſe of the word *juſtification*, obliges me here to diſtinguiſh the uſe of it: for in the natural and proper ſenſe, it plainly implies, *making* men *juſt*, that were *unjuſt*; *godly*, that were *ungodly*; *upright*, that were *depraved*; as the apoſtle expreſſeth himſelf, 1 Cor. vi. 11. " And " ſuch were ſome of you; but ye are waſhed, but ye " are ſanctified, but ye are juſtified, in the name of " our Lord Jeſus, and by the Spirit of our God." In the other uſe of the word, which ſome call a *law*-ſenſe, it refers to Chriſt, as a *ſacrifice* and *propitiation* for *ſin*,

[s] John i. 1. Rom. ix. 5. [t] Iſa. vii. 14. Mat. i. 23. Luke i. 31.

as in Rom. v. 9. "Much more then, being now juſti-
"fied by his blood, we ſhall be ſaved from wrath
"through him:" and 1 John ii. "If any man ſin,
"we have an advocate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt
"the righteous; and He is the propitiation for our
"ſins; and not for ours only, but alſo for the ſins of
"the whole world." Which though a truth, and moſt firmly believed by us; yet no man can be entitled to the benefit thereof, but as they come to believe, and repent of the evil of their ways; and then it may be truly ſaid, 'That God juſtifieth even the 'ungodly, and looks upon them through Chriſt, as 'if they had never ſinned; becauſe their ſins are for-'given them for his beloved Son's ſake.'

Not that God looks on people *to be* in Chriſt, that *are not* in Chriſt; that is, that are not in the *faith*, *obedience*, and *ſelf-denial* of Chriſt; nor *ſanctified*, nor *led* by his *Spirit*, but *rebel* againſt it; and, inſtead of *dying* to ſin, through a true and unfeigned *repentance*, *live* and *indulge* themſelves daily in it; "for they that "are in Chriſt, become new creatures; old things are "paſſed away, and all things, (with them) become "new." Wherefore we ſay, that whatever Chriſt *then* did, both *living* and *dying*, was of great benefit to the ſalvation of all that *have* believed, and *now* do, and that hereafter *ſhall* believe in him unto *juſtification* and *acceptance* with God: but the way to come to that faith, is to receive and obey the manifeſtation of his divine *light* and *grace* in their conſciences; which leads men to believe and value, and not to diſown or undervalue, Chriſt as the *Common Sacrifice* and *Mediator*. For we do affirm, that to follow this holy *light* in the *conſcience*, and to turn our minds, and bring all our deeds and thoughts to it, is the *readieſt*, nay, the only *right* way to have *true*, *living*, and *ſanctified* faith in Chriſt, as he appeared in the fleſh, and to *diſcern* the Lord's *body*, *coming*, and *ſufferings* aright,[u] and to receive any *real* benefit by him, as their *only Sacrifice* and

[u] John iii. 20, 21. 1 John i. 6, 7.

Mediator: according to the beloved disciple's emphatical passages, "If we walk in the light, as God "is in the light, we have fellowship one with ano-"ther, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleans-"eth us from all sin.[x]" And because this people say, that Christ's *outward coming* and *sufferings* profit not to *their* salvation that live in *sin*, and *rebel* against this divine light; some have untruly and uncharitably concluded, that they deny the virtue and benefit of Christ's coming and sufferings in the flesh, as a *sacrifice* for *sin*. Whereas we only deny and oppose a false and dangerous *application* of them in and to a *disobedient* state. For we believe Christ came not to save men *in* their sins, but *from* their sins; and that those that open the door of their hearts at his *inward* and *spiritual knocks*,[y] (to wit, the *reproofs* and *convictions* of his light and grace) have their "consciences sprinkled "with his blood (that is, discharged from the *guilt* "of them) from dead works, to serve the living "God:" and that so far only as men come, by faith, repentance, and amendment, to be *Christ*'s, Christ is *theirs*; and as he has an interest in their *hearts*, they have an interest in his *love* and *salvation*. That is, so far as they are obedient to his grace, and take up his cross, and follow him in the ways of *meekness*, *holiness*, and *self-denial*, so far they have an *interest* in Christ, and no farther. And here, "there is no condemna-"tion, *indeed*, to them that are in Christ Jesus," because, such "walk not after the flesh, but after the "Spirit:" for we have seen a *shoal* or *sand* here, that we fear many thousands have split upon, which we desire to avoid, and are earnest that others may beware of it also; viz. 'That because Christ died a *sacrifice* 'for the *sins* of the *whole world*, by which he put 'mankind into a capacity of salvation, and has given 'every one a *talent* of *grace* to work it out by; they 'presume upon the *sacrifice*, and *sin on*, without a tho-'rough repentance, reformation, and conversion to

[x] 1 John i. 5, 6, 7. [y] Rev. iii. 20.

'God;

'God; *not dying*, with Christ, *to* the world, but *living* 'in it, according to the lusts and spirit of it.' Such as these may be assured, that "where Christ is gone, "they shall never come:" For, says the blessed apostle, "God sent his Son to bless us, by turning every "one of us from the evil of our way." So that the contrite, humble, meek, and self denying people, are those that have the true and full benefit of Christ's coming, suffering, and mediation, and of all those holy ends for which God his Father *anointed* and *gave* him to the world, viz. to be the Way, Truth, and Life; Light, Leader, and Saviour; to be a King, Priest, Prophet, Sacrifice, Sanctifier, and Mediator; being sensibly felt of all such to *reign* over their *hearts*; *teach* them God's royal *law*; *give* them saving knowledge; and to *mediate*, *atone* for, *sanctify*, and *justify* them in the sight of God his Father, for ever.

By all which it is evident, to any moderate enquirer, that we acknowledge Christ in his double appearance; as, in the flesh, "of the seed of Abra-"ham," so in the Spirit, as he is "God over all, "blessed for ever." Wherein is a full confession both to him as a Blessed *Person*, and as a Divine *Principle* of light and life in the soul; the want of which necessary and evident distinction, occasions our adversaries frequent mistakes about our belief and application of the scriptures of truth concerning Christ, in that twofold capacity.

For it is not another than that eternal *Word*, *Light*, *Power*, *Wisdom*, and *Righteousness*, which then took *flesh*, and appeared in that holy *body*, by whom they have received, or can receive, any true spiritual benefit. They holding, *light* is ONLY from Him, *forgiveness* ONLY through Him, and, *sanctification* ONLY by Him. So that their ascribing salvation from sin, and death eternal, to him in *this* age, who now appears by his holy Spirit to their souls, as before expressed, cannot render him *no* Saviour in *that* age, or make void the end and benefit of his blessed appearance then in the flesh on earth, or his mediation now in

glory, for those that believe in him in *this* age: whose doctrine *pierced*, whose life *preached*, whose miracles *astonished*, whose blood *atoned*, and whose death, resurrection, and ascension, *confirmed* that blessed manifestation to be no less than that of the "*Word God* "(the life and light of men) manifested in the flesh,[z]" according to the apostle Paul, for the salvation of the world: and therefore, *properly* and *truly*, was the Son of Man on earth, and is now as truly the Son of Man in glory, as the *Head* of our manhood, which shall also be *glorified*, if we now receive him into our *hearts*, as the *true light*, that leads in the way of life eternal, and continue in well-doing to the end.

SECT. IX.

Of *Good Works*.

Perverſ. 13. 'Thus it is the *Quakers* ſet up *works*, 'and *meriting* by *works*, like the *Papiſts*; whereby juſ-'tification by *faith* in *Chriſt* is laid aſide.'

Principle. By no means: but they ſay, with the apoſtle James, chap. ii. "That *true* faith in Chriſt "cannot be without *works*, any more than a *body* "can live without a *ſpirit*;" and that where there is life, there is motion; and where there is no divine life and motion, there can be no true faith; *believing* being a fruit of divine *life*. Nay, by the compariſon, if they were ſeparable, *works* being compared to the *Spirit*, they would have the better. The very *believing* is an *act* of the *mind*, concurring with *God*'s working in or upon the mind, and therefore a *godly work*. And no ſooner is true faith begotten in a ſoul, but it falls to *working*; which is both the nature, and, in ſome reſpect, the end of it.

Nor yet do we ſay, that our very *beſt* works, proceeding from the true faith itſelf, can *merit*; no, nor faith joined with them: becauſe "eternal life is the

[z] John i. 4, 9. 1 Tim. iii. 16.

"gift

" gift of God." All that man is capable of believing, or performing, can never properly be ſaid to *merit* everlaſting bleſſedneſs; becauſe there can be no *proportion* (as there *muſt* be, in caſe of *merit*) between the beſt *works* that can be performed in the life of man, and an *eternal felicity*. Wherefore all that man can do, 'even with the aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit,' can never be ſaid ſtrictly to *merit*, as a debt *due* to the creature: but, on the other hand, that *right faith*, and *good works*, (which ariſe out of it, or will follow it) may, and do, *obtain* the bleſſed immortality, [which it pleaſeth Almighty God to give, and privilege the ſons of men with, who perform that neceſſary condition] is a goſpel and neceſſary truth. And this the Quakers ground upon, and therefore boldly affirm to the world.

So that they deny *all merit* from the *beſt* of works; eſpecially by *ſuch* as ſome *Papiſts* may conceive to be *meritorious*. But as they, on the one hand, deny the meritoriouſneſs of works; ſo, on the other hand, neither can they join with that *lazy* faith which works not out the ſalvation of the ſoul with fear and trembling:[a] pray let not good *works* make men *Papiſts*, becauſe they make men *Chriſtians*. I am ſure *believing* and *not working*, and imagining a ſalvation from *wrath*, where there is no ſalvation or cleanſing from *ſin*, which is the cauſe of it, is no whit leſs unſcriptural, and abundantly more pernicious to the ſoul. " Bleſſed is he that hears Chriſt's words, and does " them.[b]" The doer is only accepted. Wherefore it ſhall be ſaid at the laſt day, not, " Well *profeſſed*," but, " Well *done*, good and faithful ſervant, enter " thou into the joy of thy Lord." 'Thou holy, 'humble, patient, and meek liver: thou that lovedſt 'me above all, and thy neighbour as thyſelf: enter 'thou. For, for thee, and ſuch as thou art, was it 'prepared from the foundation of the world.' Which recompence of his faithfulneſs, is the infinite love of

[a] Phil. ii. 12. [b] Mat. vii. Pſalm xvii.

God revealed and given to man, through Chriſt. For though "death be the wages of ſin,"[c] yet "the gift "of God is eternal life to ſuch." So that as the people called Quakers do not hold that their good works *merit*, neither believe they that their good works *juſtify* them: for though none are *juſtified* that are not in meaſure *ſanctified*, yet all that man does is *duty*, and therefore cannot blot out old ſcores: for that is mere *grace* and *favour*, upon repentance, through Chriſt, the *Sacrifice* and *Mediator*; our great *Scape-Goat*.[d] So that men are not juſtified, *becauſe* they are ſanctified, but for *his ſake* that ſanctifies them, and works all their good works in them and for them, and preſents them blameleſs; to wit, Chriſt Jeſus, who is made unto them, as he was to the ſaints of old, "wiſdom, righteouſneſs, "ſanctification, and redemption; that he that glorieth, "might glory in the Lord."[e]

SECT. X.

Of *Water-Baptiſm*, and the *Supper*.

Perverſ. 14. 'The *Quakers* deny the two great ſacra-'ments or ordinances of the goſpel, *baptiſm*, and the '*ſupper*.'

Princip. Whatever is truly and properly a goſpel-ordinance, they deſire to own and practiſe: but they obſerve no ſuch language in the ſcripture as in the reflection. They do confeſs the *practice* of *John*'s *baptiſm*, and the *ſupper*, is to be found there; but practice *only* is no *inſtitution*, or ſufficient reaſon of continuation. That they were *then* proper, they believe; it being a time of great infancy, and when the myſteries of truth lay yet couched and folded up in *figures* and *ſhadows*, as is acknowledged by Proteſtants: but it is their belief, that *no figures* or *ſigns* are *perpetual*, or of *inſtitution*, under the goſpel-adminiſtration, when CHRIST, who is

[c] Rom. vi. 23. [d] Iſa. xxvi. 12. [e] 1 Cor. i. 30, 31.

the

the *ſubſtance* of them, is come: though their uſe might have been indulged to young converts in primitive times, becauſe of the condeſcenſion of former practices.

It were to overthrow the whole goſpel-diſpenſation, and to make the coming of Chriſt of none effect, to render *ſigns* and *figures* of the nature of the goſpel, which is *inward*, *ſpiritual*, and *eternal*. If it be ſaid, 'But they were uſed after the coming of Chriſt, and 'his aſcenſion too:' They anſwer, So were many Jewiſh ceremonies, not eaſily aboliſhed, as circumciſion, &c. It is ſufficient to them, That water-baptiſm was *John's* and not *Chriſt's*. See Mat. iii. 11. Acts i. 5. That Jeſus never *uſed* it, John iv. 2. That it was *no part* of Paul's commiſſion, which if it were evangelical, and of duration, it would certainly have been. 1 Cor. iv. 15, 16, 17. And that there is but *one baptiſm*, as well as *one faith*, and *one Lord*, Epheſ. v. 4. And *that* baptiſm ought to be of the ſame nature with the kingdom of which it is an ordinance, and that is *ſpiritual*. The ſame holds alſo as to the *ſupper*, both alluding to *old Jewiſh practices*, and uſed as a ſignification of a near and accompliſhed work, viz. The *ſubſtance* they repreſented.

If any ſay, 'But Chriſt commanded that one of them 'ſhould *continue* in remembrance of him;' which the apoſtle to the church of Corinth explains thus; "That "thereby they do *ſhew forth* the Lord's death until he "comes:" We allege, That he that ſaid ſo, told his diſciples alſo, "That he would come to them again: "that ſome ſhould not taſte of death until they *ſaw* "him coming in the kingdom: and that he that dwel-"leth with them, ſhould be *in them:* and that he would "drink no more of this fruit of the vine, until he "ſhould drink it *new* with them in the kingdom of "God:[f]" which is the *new wine*, that was to be put into the *new bottles*, and is the *wine* of the *kingdom*; as

[f] Luke xxii. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 26. Mat. xvi. 28. John xiv. 17. Mat. xxvi. 29. Mark xiv. 25.

he expreſſeth it in the ſame place: which kingdom is *within*, as may be read in *Luke*. He was the *heavenly bread* that they had not *yet* known, nor his *fleſh* and *blood*, as they *were* to know them; as may be ſeen, *John* vi. So that though Chriſt was come to *end* all *ſigns*, yet, until he was known to be the *ſubſtance* to the ſoul, as the great *bread of life* from heaven, *ſigns* had their ſervice with them, to *ſhew forth*, and *hold in hand*, and in *remembrance* of Chriſt:[g] eſpecially to the people of that day, whoſe religion was attended with a multitude of the like types, ſhadows, and ſigns of the one good thing and ſubſtance of all, Chriſt manifeſted in his people. And that great apoſtle Paul ſays expreſly of the Jewiſh obſervations, "That they were *ſhadows* "of the good things to come, but the *ſubſtance* was "of *Chriſt*." Hence it is, that the people called Quakers cannot be ſaid to *deny* them; that is too hard a word: but they truly feeling in themſelves the *very thing*, which *outward* water, bread and wine do *ſignify*, or *point forth* (to ſay nothing here of their *abuſe*, and what in that caſe may be argued, from the inſtance of Hezekiah's taking away the *brazen ſerpent* by God's *command*) they *leave them off*, as fulfilled in *Chriſt*, who is in them "the hope of their glory:[h]" And henceforth they have but *one* Lord, *one* faith, *one* baptiſm, *one* bread, and but *one* cup of bleſſings, and that is the new wine of the kingdom of God, which is within.[i]

SECT. XI.

Of the *Reſurrection*, and *Eternal Recompenſe*.

Perverſ. 15. 'They acknowledge *no reſurrection* of 'the *dead*, nor *rewards* to *come*.'

Princip. In this alſo we are greatly abuſed. We deny *not*, but *believe*, the *reſurrection*, according to the

[g] Luke v. 37, Luke xvii. 20. John vi. 53 to 63.
[h] 2 Kings xviii. 4. [i] Mark xiv. 25, 1 Cor. x. 15, 16, 17, Luke xvii. 20, 27.

ſcrip-

ſcripture; not only from *ſin*, but alſo from *death* and the *grave*; but are conſcientiouſly cautious in expreſſing the *manner* of the reſurrection intended in the charge, becauſe it is left a *ſecret* by the Holy Ghoſt in the ſcripture. Should people be angry with them for not *expreſſing* or *aſſerting* what is *hidden*, and which is more curious than neceſſary to be known, and in which the objectors themſelves cannot be poſitive? "Thou "fool," is to the curious enquirer, as ſays the apoſtle:[k] which makes the Quakers contented with *that body*, which God ſhall pleaſe to give them hereafter: being aſſured, "that their corruptible ſhall put on incorrup-"tion, and their mortal ſhall put on immortality," but in ſuch a manner as pleaſeth God. And in the mean time they eſteem it their duty, as well as wiſdom, to acquieſce in his holy will. It is enough they believe a reſurrection, and that with a *glorious* and *incorruptible body*, without farther niceties; for to that was the ancient hope.

Now as to *eternal rewards*, they not only *believe* them, but, as the apoſtle ſays of old, above *all* people have the greateſt *reaſon* ſo to do;[l] for otherwiſe, who is ſo *miſerable?* Do they inherit the reproach and ſuffering of all that have ſeparated from time to time from national churches? That is to ſay, Are the outcries that have been againſt the Proteſtants by the Papiſts, and thoſe of the church of England againſt the Puritans, Browniſts, and Separatiſts, fallen ſo thick upon *them*, and ſhall *they* hold principles inconſiſtent with an eternal recompence of reward? By no means. It is their faith, their hope, their intereſt, and what they wait and have ſuffered for, and preſs, as an encouragement to faithfulneſs, upon one another. And the contrary, therefore, muſt be both an *unjuſt* and an *improbable* ſuggeſtion of their adverſaries.

SECT. XII.

Of *Civil Honour* and *Reſpect*.

Perverſ. 16. 'The *Quakers* deny all *civil honour* and *re-'ſpect*, but what is *relative* or *equal* between men.'

[k] 1 Cor. xv. 36 to 54. [l] 1 Cor. xv. 19.

Prin-

Principle. We "honour all men in the Lord," but not in the ſpirit and faſhion of *this* world that paſſes away.[m] And though we do not pull off our hats, or make curtſeyings, or give flattering titles, or uſe compliments, becauſe we believe there is no *true* honour, but flattery and ſin in the uſing of them; yet we treat all men with ſeriouſneſs and gentleneſs, though it be with plainneſs, and our ſuperiors with a modeſt and awful diſtance; and are ready to do them any reaſonable benefit or ſervice, in which we think *real* honour conſiſteth. Whereas thoſe that thus reproach us, are often proud, peeviſh, ſnappiſh, abuſive and oppreſſive one to another; though at the ſame time they can give one another the *cap* and *knee*, with ſmooth words, which (too generally) they never mean: which is far from *true* civility, or "honouring all men," in the ſenſe that they are exhorted to by the apoſtle.

And as for expreſſing our reſpect to our ſuperiors in all countries, we think it beſt done by obeying all juſt laws under their government, according to the ſaying of the centurion unto Chriſt, and which Chriſt ſo much approved of, viz. When he ſaid to one, "Come, and "he came; to another, Go, and he went; to a third, "Do this, and he did it."[n] Reaſonable *commands*, and ready *obedience*. *This* is honouring of government and governors, and not empty titles, and ſervile and fantaſtic geſtures, and drinking of their healths, until they drink away their *own*; the vain and evil cuſtoms of the world, taken from the heathen's practices, and adopted by looſe Chriſtians in their converſation, and ſo become the faſhion of the times. And if to diſſent from theſe things, be to be *vile*, we are contented to be accounted *more* vile, having Chriſt's commands, primitive example, and our own convictions, on our ſide[o].

[m] 1 Pet. ii. 17. iii. 9. Rom. xii. 2. Job xxxii. 21, 22. 1 Pet. i. 14. [n] Luke vii. 8, 9. [o] 2 Sam. vi. 22.

SECT.

SECT. XIII.

Of *Civil Government.*

Perverſ. 17. 'The *Quakers* are *enemies* to all *govern-*
'*ment.* Firſt, In that every one acteth according to his
'own conceit. Secondly, Becauſe they will not
'*ſupport* civil government. Thirdly, Becauſe they re-
'fuſe to give evidence upon *oath*, as the law requires.'

Principle. That this is a calumny, their lives and converſations ſufficiently ſhew; for no people give the magiſtrates *leſs* trouble, or cauſe that charge or burden to ſit lighter upon their ſhoulders, than theſe people do. And for their principle, 'They believe magiſtracy to
'be an ordinance of God, and that he that ruleth well,
'is worthy of double honour, and deſerves to be much
'valued and eſteemed:' as ſuch certainly do, "Who
"are a terror to evil-doers, and a praiſe to them that
"do well."[p] And farther, to ſhew that they are people that love *order* and *good government*, they carefully practiſe it among themſelves: for if there be twenty meetings of *worſhip* in a county, they, peradventure, make three or four *monthly meetings* of *buſineſs*: and theſe *monthly meetings* are reſolved into a *quarterly meeting* for the county, by ſuch members as they ſeverally appoint to conſtitute it. And all the *quarterly meetings* in the *nation*, by choſen men out of themſelves, do conſtitute *one general yearly meeting*; unto which, the meetings of thoſe people, in all parts of the world, have their recourſe, by *choſen meſſengers*, or by *epiſtles*. The buſineſs of which meetings, in their ſeveral degrees, is to promote *virtue* and *charity*, *peace* and *unity*.[q]

'The *Quakers* will not ſupport *civil government*, and
'ſo are *uſeleſs*, if not *dangerous*, to *government*.'

This alſo is untrue, upon experience: for what people is more *induſtrious* under government, or pay their taxes *better* to it than *they* do? And, *tribute* from the

[p] Rom. xiii. 1, 2, 3. [q] Acts vi.

people,

people, and *juſtice* from the *rulers*, are the *ſupport* of *government* in all countries. It is true, indeed, that they cannot *kill*, or ſlay their own *kind*, and ſo are not fit for *warriors* with carnal weapons of *deſtruction*; becauſe they believe their bleſſed Lord forbad the *uſe* of them to his followers, when he ſaid, "They that take "the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword;" and that the *uſe* of the *ſword* in *war*, was one of thoſe things that God ſuffered for the "*hardneſs* of mens *hearts*, and "that from the *beginning* it was *not* ſo[t]:" in fine, that it came *in* with the fall, and muſt go *out* with it alſo. And as Chriſt, the "repairer of breaches, and reſtorer "of paths to dwell in," comes to be known to rule in the heart, *love* will take place of *wrath*, and *forgiveneſs* overcome *injury* and *revenge*: ſo the *lamb* will be preferred before the *lion*, and the *lion* reſign to, and lie down with, the *lamb*, and deſtruction come to a perpetual end. For which cauſe, the "weapons of this "people's warfare, are not *carnal*, but mighty, through "God, to the pulling down of the ſtrong holds of "ſin and ſatan,[u]" according to the apoſtle's doctrine; which is the *holy war*, indeed; ſtiled by the Holy Ghoſt, *The ſaints warfare*. And ſince ſo holy, lamb-like, and peaceable a ſtate, is both propheſied of, and promiſed, as the "happineſs of the *latter* times;" and that *it* and *they* take their beginning in *Chriſt*, the "*Beginning* and the *end* of all true Chriſtians;" let not this people be thought uſeleſs, or inconſiſtent with government, for *introducing* that harmleſs glorious way to this diſtracted world (for ſomebody *muſt* begin it); but rather adore the *providence*, embrace the *principle*, and cheriſh and follow the *example*; believing, with them, that Chriſt, the bleſſed ſhepherd of his flock, will ever preſerve the faithful followers of his meekneſs, and diſciples of his peaceable and forgiving doctrine.

'The *Quakers* refuſe to give *evidence*,' &c.

[t] Mat. v. 38—45. ch. xxvi. 51, 52. [u] Iſa. xi. 6. 2 Cor. x. 3, 5.

It

It cannot be their *fault*, which is ſo much their *deſire*, viz. 'To be able to give evidence upon *all* occaſions.' Nor, with juſtice, can it be reputed their ſtubbornneſs, but their tenderneſs, ſince they cannot *ſwear at all*, and that the law requires an *oath* in evidence. Now Chriſt having commanded his followers, "Not to "ſwear at all,[t]" and that, inſtead of an oath, or in caſes where oaths are allowed under the law, their *yea, yea*, and *nay, nay*, ſhould ſerve inſtead of ſwearing; and that for this reaſon, becauſe, "What is *more* than *yea, yea, nay, nay*, cometh of evil;" and for that Chriſtians are commanded to avoid the very *appearance* of evil, much more that which *cometh* of evil: upon this account they dare not ſwear at all. So that it is for *Chriſt's ſake*, and the tender reſpect they bear to his evangelical, poſitive and general precept, that they cannot ſwear; who is the *truth*, and has taught them to *ſpeak* the truth without an *oath*.

Now if this would be admitted (and often they have prayed that it might be, and, for want of it, are not only leſs ſerviceable to their neighbours, than otherwiſe they could be, but are great *ſufferers* in their perſons and eſtates) and that the government would be pleaſed to accept their *yea, yea*, and *nay, nay*, inſtead of an oath, as other countries do in the like caſes, they would be ready to ſubmit to the *ſame puniſhment* in caſe of *untruth*, that is due by law to *perjury*: and upon all occaſions would be glad to help and ſerve their neighbours with all their hearts. Wherefore let not that be made their *fault*, that is ſo much againſt their *will*, and their great unhappineſs and affliction.

Thus, ſober reader, thou haſt a brief account of this people, their principles and practice; and therefore thou mayeſt ſee, if thou pleaſeſt, with how little reaſon they are *deſpiſed* by ſome, and *abuſed* by others; which hath been their lot, in a large meaſure, ever ſince they have been a people: though the whole bent of their ſpirits and teſtimony, ſince God, by his grace,

[t] Mat. v. 35, 37. Jam. v. 12.

hath

hath distinguished them, has been, 'To promote the 'experimental and saving knowledge of Jesus Christ in 'the world, by turning the minds of all people from the *darkness* that is in them, to the *light* of *Christ* 'which is in them, as the *great*, *singular*, and *necessary* 'agent and *principle*, by which, *only*, man is enlightened, and enabled to see and do the will of God."' For, until men receive, and are quickened by, this divine principle, they are hypocrites, and not Christians; bastards, and not sons. Neither can they have true and living faith, whatsoever they profess; nor can they truly and acceptably worship God, whatsoever they perform.

O then, let the poor Quakers, and their abused principles, have better entertainment with thee, reader: and do not conclude, because they direct people to the light of *Christ* in them, that therefore it is a mere *natural*, and not a *divine* light: or because they assert *Christ* to be the *Word of God*, and that he is revealed in the *heart*, according to the scripture, and that the *scripture*, in that excellent sense, is *not* so; that therefore they deny the *divine authority* of the scriptures, and that the *mind* and *truth* thereof, as declared by them, is not, in *any* sense, the *Word of the Lord to men*: or because they do not receive the *schoolmens Trinity*, that therefore they deny the *Scripture-Trinity* of FATHER, WORD, and SPIRIT: or that therefore they deny the *divinity* of Christ the *Word*: or that they deny Christ *without* them, who was the *Son of Man*, in a suffering state on *earth*, and is now the *Son of Man* in *glory*, because they *exalt* and *press* an *experimental* knowledge of Christ *within*, as the truth, substance, and excellency of the "hope of the glory" that hereafter shall be revealed, as being the "riches of the glory "of the mystery revealed, and to be revealed, in "these latter days,"[w]" according to the scriptures of

[u] 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Acts xxvi. 18. 1 John i. 7. ch. ii. 20, 27. Rom. viii. 1, 12, John i. 4, 5. [w] Col. i, 26, 27, 28, 29. 2 Cor. xiii. 5

truth,

truth. Neither do thou ſay, they hope to be ſaved by their *own works*, becauſe they preſs the neceſſity of *well-doing* toward acceptance with God; ſince they maintain, 'that *no works* that are not wrought by the 'Spirit of God are *acceptable* with him: or that they 'hold even *ſuch* works to be *meritorious*, becauſe they 'ſay, *good works* are *neceſſary* and *rewardable*:' or that they are *forgiven* for what they *do*, and not for what *Chriſt* did: or that they deny the *uſe* of *means*, becauſe they reject *ungoſpel* ones: or that they deny *baptiſm* and the *ſupper*, becauſe they ſay, 'they are but *ſigns* of 'the *ſpiritual grace*, and that they ſerved but for a *time*, 'and that they experience their accompliſhment.' Neither ſay, that they are *uncivil*, and *honour* no man, becauſe they forbear ſuch *titles* and *ceremonies*, in which *true* honour and civility do not *conſiſt*: or, that they are againſt *government*, becauſe they cannot, out of tenderneſs and not obſtinacy, conform to it in matters relating to *religion* and *conſcience*; in which CHRIST only is *Lord* and *King*: ſince, reader, thou plainly ſeeſt, that they believe the *light* to be *divine*, and the *ſcriptures* to be of *divine authority*: that they own the *Scripture-Trinity*, or *Holy Three*, of FATHER, WORD, and SPIRIT, to be *truly*, and *properly*, ONE: that CHRIST is *God*, and that CHRIST is *man*: that he came in the *fleſh*, *died*, *roſe again*, *aſcended*, and ſits on GOD's *right-hand*, the *only Sacrifice* and *Mediator*, for man's happineſs: that truly *goſpel-means* and *ordinances* are requiſite, and to be reverently practiſed: that *good works* are *neceſſary* and *rewardable*: that *all men* are to be *honoured* in the *Lord*, according to their *degrees*: and that *government*, in church and ſtate, is *God's ordinance*, and both requiſite and very beneficial.

NOW, reader, that which remains, is to recommend thee to this *divine principle* of *light* and *life*, which they make the *root* and *ſpring* of all true *ſenſe* of *God* and *religion* in man; even the *light within*, which they began with, and comes *from* Chriſt, and indeed *is* Chriſt, the *eternal Word*, and which brings all, that follow the convictions and leadings of it, *to* Chriſt; that

that is, to his *nature*, which is *meek*, *patient*, *loving*, *humble*, *harmleſs*, *ſelf-denying*, and *holy*; and thereby to know him "in themſelves," according to ſcripture, to be the "hope of their eternal glory:" who, as he is of *Abraham* after the *fleſh*, ſo is he *God*, the *True Light*, over all, bleſſed for ever; and *lighteth* all, in order to life and bleſſedneſs. Unto the manifeſtation of whoſe moſt holy and bleſſed light within, thou, reader, art earneſtly exhorted. Bring thy *deeds* to it, and *love* it, and *walk* in it, and thou wilt aſſuredly have the *light* of *life*; and thy "fellowſhip ſhall be "with *God*, and with his *Son* and *ſaints*, and the blood "of Jeſus Chriſt his Son ſhall cleanſe thee from all "ſin.[x]" And "whatſoever things are true, whatſo-"ever things are honeſt, whatſoever things are juſt, "whatſoever things are pure, whatſoever things are "of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there "be any praiſe, think on theſe things.[y]" Which, reader, is, I know, moſt earneſtly deſired on thy behalf, by this deſpiſed and moſt abuſed people, called Quakers. So be it. Amen.

POSTSCRIPT.

Being an EXHORTATION to *all people*, to turn ſpeedily to the LORD, and ſeek him while he may be found, whatever *perſuaſion* they are of, or *forms* they are under, before the dreadful day of God's *vengeance* overtake them.

O Ye inhabitants of the world, but more eſpecially you that know this people, and among whom the teſtimony, which they bear, hath been held forth; hear, and be intreated, for your ſouls ſake! O that ye knew *God*, your *Creator*, to be alſo your *Redeemer!* Who does as certainly *viſit* you by the SPIRIT of the *Second Adam*, as ever he *created* you in the NATURE of

[x] John v. 6, 7. [y] Phil. iv. 8.

the

the *firſt Adam:* that as in one you *fell*, in the other you may *ariſe* out of your fallen and foul eſtate, and become a reformed, regenerate, and choſen people to God.[a]

"This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well "pleaſed; hear ye him;" ſaid God the Father. And what ſays Chriſt the Son? "Learn of me, for I am "meek and lowly in heart, and ye ſhall find reſt unto "your ſouls." For *out* of Chriſt, out of his *Spirit* and *nature*, verily we cannot have peace. "No peace "to the wicked," no peace to the proud and ungodly, ſaith the Lord. O friends, you muſt take up your croſs *daily*, and follow *him*, or ye cannot be his *diſciples*; his followers, his people, his friends; thoſe in whom he is well pleaſed. Whoſe *doctrine* is not ſo much the good *words* you read in *creeds* and *catechiſms*, as it is the *living teaching* of his *Spirit* in your own *hearts*; and whoſe *religion* is not opinion, but *experience*; not notion, but *enjoyment: life* from death, *converſion, regeneration:* in ſhort, *undefiledneſs* and *holineſs*, "without which no man ſhall ſee the Lord."

Here is the *faith* of *Jeſus*; a faith that *overcomes* the *world*, and *works* by *love*, not violence: where *zeal* and *charity* are companions, and *knowledge* doth not *puff up*, but lives and works by *obedience*. This is the faith and religion of *Jeſus:* all others are the faith and religion of *hypocrites* and *devils*; which they may have, and be hypocrites and devils ſtill: for though they *believe*, their faith works not by *love*; and though they *know* the truth, they *obey* it not.[b]

Wherefore, friends, it ſtands you much upon to ſee *what* faith and religion you have; and not flatter yourſelves on to perdition. If it be the *true*, the *pure*,

[a] 1 Cor. xii. 7. Tit. ii. 11, 12. Rom. v. 10, 12, 18, 19, 22. Mat. iii. 17. chap. xvii. 5. Mat. xi. 29. Iſa. lvii. 21. [b] Rom. viii. 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14. 2 Cor, xiii, 5. Gal. v. 24. 1 John iij. 3, 8. chap. v. 4. Jam i. 27. Rom. vi. 19, 20. 2 Cor. vi. 17, 18. chap. vii. 7. Eph. iv. 34. 1 Theſ. iii. 13. Heb. xii. 14. 1 John v. 4. 2 Cor. x. v. James ii, 19, 20. Gal. vi. 7, 8. chap. v. 22. chap. ii. 8, 9.

the *undefiled*, according to the apoſtle, James i. 27. then you will have *light hearts*, and *eaſy conſciences*, and "an *hope* that will not make you *aſhamed*:" elſe, believe it, heavineſs, anguiſh, and tribulation will (whatever be your profeſſion) overwhelm you, in the day that God ſhall enter into judgment with you. For which cauſe, O my dear country-folks and people, be intreated, "while it is *to-day*," to turn unto the Lord with all your hearts, and "*hearken* to his *voice*," in your own conſciences, that calls you to holineſs, and harden not your hearts againſt his reproofs, for "the "reproof of inſtruction is the way to life;" endleſs life. Did *you* but *ſee* that *God ſees* you every where, and in every thing, and that *continually*, it would abundantly alter the caſe with you. Then would you ſay, as one of old, "The Lord was here, and I knew "it not.[c]" Certainly, fear, holy fear, would take hold of you, an awe of the Omnipreſent Majeſty would ſeize you, and you would not do that before God, which you would be aſhamed men ſhould ſee you do. For no place is ſecret to Him: "the *light* "and *darkneſs* are *alike*:" his witneſs is with you as much alone, as in company; and may perhaps be better heard by you.

Sin not, then, in the face of God, in contempt of his witneſs, in deſpite of his Spirit that is in you; but hear it, receive it, and love it, and you will be born of it, and become the children of him whoſe eye penetrates the darkeſt coverts, and findeth out the ſecreteſt corners. Even He that "ſearches the heart, "and tries the reins of man, and ſets his ſins in order "before him, and telleth unto him his moſt inward "thoughts.[d]"

This being the caſe, what manner of perſons ought ye to be, O ye children of men! Do not ſatisfy your-

[c] Pſal. xciv. 7. Heb. iii. 7, 8, 13. 2 Cor. v. 10. Prov. i. 23. chap. vi. 23. Pſal. xliv. 21. Pſal. cxxxix. 7. Jer. xvii. 22, 23. chap. xxiii. 24. Amos ix. 2, 3. Rom. vi. 21. [d] Pſal. xciv. 12. Pſal. cxxxix. 3. Amos iv. 13. 2 Pet. iii. 11.

ſelves

ſelves with *outſides*, with a *name*, a *profeſſion*, a *church-membership*, &c. For it is not what you *ſay*, but what you *do*. But *turn in* and examine your own hearts, ſee how they ſtand affected towards God, and his law and truth in your inward parts. Be ſtrict and true in the ſearch, as you would ſave your ſouls. If your minds be ſet on heavenly things, and that holineſs and charity be the zealous bent thereof, well will it be with you for ever: to *live*, then, will be *Chriſt*, and to *die* will be your eternal *gain*. "For bleſſed is "that people and nation whoſe God is the Lord."[e] But if the love and ſpirit of the *world* prevail: if *pride*, *covetouſneſs*, and *luxury*, *envy*, *bitterneſs*, and *vain-glory*, that are ſo very oppoſite to the will and nature of God, and his holy Lamb; if theſe things have power over you, flatter not yourſelves, you cannot be *true* Chriſtians, nor in favour with God, for you take his name in vain: and your very *prayers* and *oblations* are an *abomination* to the Lord, in *that* ſtate. God calls for the *heart*: "My Son give me thy heart:" he has given man the reſt; but *that* God will have for himſelf, if man will have him for his God and friend. Cozen not yourſelves, therefore, O ye ſons and daughters of Adam! For, believe it, "Such as "you ſow, ſuch you muſt reap;" and "there is no "repentance in the grave." And a ſhort, but great work will God do in the earth; and great judgments, of divers kinds, will begin it, and they are at the door.[f] Yea, they are begun, if ye could but ſee them.

[e] Iſa. li. 6. Jer. xxxi. 33. Heb. viii. 10, 11, 12. Phil. i. 12. Pſal. cxiv. 15. [f] Prov. xv. 8, 9. Iſa. i. 15, 16, 17, 18. Prov. xxiii. 26. Gal. vi. 7, 8. Rom. xiii. 11. 1 Cor. xv. 34. Epheſ. v. 14. 2 Tim. ii. 26. Joel ii. 3. Mal. iii. 2. chap. iv. 1. Mat. xxiv. 42, 43, 44, 46. chap. xxv. 13. chap. i. 21. 1 John iii. 5, 8. 1 Pet. ii. 9, 21. Mat. v. 8. Iſa. liv. 12. chap. xxii. 12. Jer. xxxi. 9. Pſal. xxxiv. 18. Pſal. li. 10. Zech. xii. 11. Rev. i. 7. Mat. vii. 21. Rom. ii. 13. Mat. xiii. 46. Prov. viii. 18, 21. Iſa. xlv. 3. Acts iii. 10. chap. i. 6, 7, 8. Pſal. xlv. 6. Heb. i. 8. Iſa. ix. 6, 7. Rev. xxii. 26.

O awake then, awake out of the ſleep of this world! Behold the Judge is at hand, and the midnight cry is coming upon you as a thief in the night. Prepare, prepare, or you are excluded for ever! And remember, ſalvation is from *ſin*, or it will never be from *wrath*: ſo ſaid the angel, "Thou ſhalt call his name "Jeſus, for he ſhall ſave his people from their *ſins*:" for it is the "pure in heart that ſee God; and nothing "*unlike* him can *pleaſe* him, and leſs *live* with him for "*ever*."

The eternal God *reach* unto you by his powerful Spirit, *break* your peace in the broad way, *touch* you deeply with a ſenſe of your diſobedience to him, give you true contrition and repentance, and create in you a "*clean heart*," and renew a "*right ſpirit*" within you: to conclude, make you holy, make you zealous, and make you charitable; that you may *do*, as well as *ſay*, and not only *profeſs*, but *poſſeſs*, the truth of the living God in your *inward parts*; that pearl of price, that hidden and eternal treaſure. So ſhall you know that the *times* of *refreſhing* are come from the *preſence* of the *Lord*, and that the *kingdom* is *again* reſtored unto *Iſrael*! ISRAEL, the Prince of eternal peace, who hath prevailed with God for man; whoſe ſcepter is "a ſcepter of righteouſneſs, and of whoſe dominion "there ſhall be no end." So come, Lord Jeſus; come quickly. Amen.

Written, in behalf of the ſaid people, for the information and good of all, by

WILLIAM PENN.

A REPLY

A REPLY TO A PRETENDED ANSWER, BY A NAMELESS AUTHOR, TO W. PENN'S KEY.

IN WHICH

The PRINCIPLES of the People called QUAKERS are farther Explained and Confirmed.

By W. PENN.

Published in the Year 1695.

THOUGH I submit to controversy as my drudgery, not my pleasure, otherwise than as it is my duty; yet, I cannot but say, I am glad that the publick contradiction of a *nameless author*, to a small treatise of mine, called, *A Key*, clearing our principles from vulgar apprehensions, gives me farther occasion to declare and justify them to the world: in the doing of which, I shall endeavour, with God's assistance, so to govern myself,

ſelf, that my antagoniſt ſhall ſee it has not been in his power, with all his ſcornful and abuſive treatment of me, my friends, and our holy religion, to provoke me to any other towards him, in my *reply*, than what is ſuitable to Chriſtianity; whilſt with great levity and prejudice, he will by no means allow us to be *Chriſtians*.

My reply will be ſhort, but I hope clear and ſatisfactory; in order to which, I ſhall obſerve this method:

I. His miſtakes in point of fact, and the uſe he would make of them.

II. His inſinuations and inſincerity.

III. His abuſive terms and taunts upon us.

IV. His pretended anſwers and interpretations of ſcripture. And,

Our principles, ſo far as declared, and by ſcripture defended in the KEY, maintained againſt the attempts of this author, and farther explained and confirmed for a publick good.

I.

His *miſtakes* in point of *fact*, and the *uſe* he would *make* of them.

He begins his anſwer with a paſſage merely perſonal, and not at all relative to the nature of the diſcourſe, viz. about a pamphlet, writ in defence of the bill for excluding the duke of York, intituled, "A few words "about the touchy point of ſucceſſion:" teaching the parliament, That when they had made firſt an addreſs to the duke to relinquiſh his right to the crown; if he refuſed, then (but not before) they might not only juſtly, but civilly exclude him by act.——'When,' (ſays he) 'I had peruſed this piece, without judging the 'merits of the cauſe, or the witneſs of the argument, 'I concluded that W. P. was then a man principled for 'the civil liberties of his country.'

Anſwer.

Anſwer. But if I may be ſo bold with this author, pray, why *then* principled for civil liberties, and not *afterwards?* And why this upon me at all? But why at this time, and upon this occaſion, of ſo differing a nature, to be brought in by head and ſhoulders, as the proverb is? But what if I never writ ſuch a pamphlet? (as to be ſure I did not) What is to be ſaid to, and of, ſuch an author, in ſuch a caſe, and in ſuch a time, and to a man under *my circumſtances?* Let him know then, that I did not only never write ſuch a pamphlet, but I am ſure that I do not remember I ever read one of ſuch a title, or heard of it; nor was I of that principle, and therefore I return the civility of his concluſion to him again; for, I thank God, I was always ſo much for *civil liberties*, that I thought no man ought to loſe them for his *religious principles*. And farther, that they were never to be ſecured by this or that *man*, but by a good and equal conſtitution of *government*; as ſome papers by me, which I writ at that time, as well as divers perſons yet living, of good reputation, can evidence for me.

But his next paragraph explains the matter; wherein he ſpeaks thus: 'I could no otherwiſe reconcile the 'folly of his prevarication in the late reign, than by 'imputing them to his intemperate zeal for a bound-'leſs liberty of conſcience, according to the doctrine 'of king James's declaration.'

In this he would be charitable, but let him firſt be juſt: if there were no prevarication, then there is no need of an intemperate zeal for liberty to ſhadow or reconcile them to any former principles. And I am ſo much a friend to him and his brethren, that I wiſh them free from *all* intemperance, and prevarications too, and that in *all reigns*. And if it be poſſible, or worth while, to reconcile him better to my conduct, let him peruſe my "*Great Caſe of Liberty of Conſcience*," printed 1671, and my "*Letter to the Eſtates of* Embden, 1672," and my "*Preſent State of* England, 1675," and he will find I was the ſame man then, and acted by the ſame principles. Not more intemperate in the reign that favoured

it, than in the reign I contended with, that did not favour it: and no man but a perſecutor, which I count a beaſt of prey, and a declared enemy to mankind, can, without great injuſtice or ingratitude, reproach that part I had in king James's court: for I think I may ſay, without vanity, upon this provocation, I *endeavoured* at leaſt to do *ſome* good at *my own coſt*, and would have been glad to have done *more:* I am very ſure I intended, and I think I did, harm to *none*, neither parties nor private perſons, *my own family* excepted: for which I doubt not this author's pardon, ſince he ſhews himſelf ſo little concerned for the maſter of it.

Page 8. Our adverſary miſſes again notoriouſly in point of fact, when he charges me, 'Of revenging my-'ſelf upon J. Faldo and T. Hicks, for baffling of me 'twenty years ago.'

Anſwer. I had no revenge in my eye when I writ that KEY; for it was writ in pity, not in anger; to inform, and not to be revenged. I muſt beg my *reader* to peruſe it, who then can beſt judge if it taſtes of that rank ſpirit, and what ſpirit this man is of, that ſhews ſuch indignation at it; as well as ſee how meanly he has performed his pretence of an anſwer, that meddles not with a twentieth part of it, though on different ſubjects.

It is not in my nature to remember injuries twenty years ago, though this man commits them unprovoked: nor had I any temptation to it, ſince I had all the ſatisfaction I could deſire, but their converſion. Concerning the firſt, I muſt refer myſelf to impartial readers; and of the laſt, the famous Barbican and Wheeler-ſtreet publick diſputes do give this man the lie. For at the laſt, T. H. did not appear, and at the firſt he ſhrunk away. And if ever any ſuch publick diſpute determined with a viſible advantage on either ſide, the impartial, not of our communion, gave it us. And for the encomium he beſtows upon them, with the *poor Indian*, that deſired not to go to heaven, if the *cruel Spaniard* went thither, I muſt ſay, Let not my ſoul

go

go where their ſouls are gone, if they did not heartily repent of their great wickedneſs, againſt the people of God called Quakers, and their holy profeſſion, before they died.

Page 9. He ſaith, 'The *light within* is no ſcripture 'expreſſion; and the nation had called nothing the 'light within, but the *effects* of the *perceptive powers* 'of our *minds*, that is, our *thoughts*.'

Anſwer. By nation, he muſt either underſtand a parliament or ſynod; for I preſume he has not ſpoke with *all* the nation. But if the *Common-prayer*, eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, have any ſhare in the ſenſe of the nation, or the *ſynod* or *aſſembly* of *divines*, that ſat between the years of forty and fifty at Weſtminſter, he will find *another* light owned by them, than *man's own thoughts*: which being *all* the light within that is owned by this oppoſer, I may well return upon him that ſcripture, miſquoted by him, pag. 43. "If the light that is in thee be darkneſs, "how great is that darkneſs!"—Take heed that the "light in thee be not darkneſs."

I ſhall conſider his abuſe of ſcripture in another place; and ſhall ſay no more upon it at this time, than that this *darkneſs* being our author's *light*, he cannot *comprehend* the true light; but with it *oppoſes* the true light, and the children of it. But that the *light within* ſhould not be a ſcripture expreſſion, is very ſtrange: pray, what is *enlightening*, but *light within*? Can a man's mind be *lighted*, and have no *light* there? The *light* is ſaid to ſhine in our *hearts*: can that be, and not *within*? But more of this when I come to conſider his oppoſitions to the light.

Page 15, 18, 19. 'Notwithſtanding their empty 'pretence, the *Quakers* learn their religion not from 'the *light within*, but from *one another*. They cannot 'name one that was a *Quaker*, that was not made ſo 'by *hearing* them, or reading their *books*. That *Quakeriſm* is erected by art, method, and management;

'by

'by conſults and clubs; all ſubordinate to a general 'aſſembly; and not from the ſufficiency of any *princi-* 'ple in *themſelves*, either of natural or ſupernatural 'donation.'

Anſwer. This is alſo falſe in fact; there being many that came in a good meaſure *ripe* to the communion of that people, having for the moſt part the ſame ſentiment; as all did from their own convictions by the *ſame principle*, though *mediately* or *miniſterially*. But if this man had conſidered well, he would have ſpared this abſurdity; for *whom* did the *firſt* Quaker *hear?* He will ſurely allow us a *beginning*. However, I would have him know, no man can ſee divine *truth* by another man's ſpeaking or writing, but through divine *light*, that ſhines in *himſelf*, giving him the *underſtanding* thereof: "for though the ſpirit of man knows "the things of a man; yet the things of God knows "no man, but the Spirit of God:" and therefore it is upon conviction, and not human authority, that our religion is built. And it is great uncharitableneſs in this opponent, as well as injuſtice, to charge a whole people with a confederacy againſt themſelves, to their temporal woe, and eternal deſtruction: that ſo much ſobriety, patience, ſelf-denial, ſuffering, conſtancy through all times and conditions, ſhould be interpreted *trick*, *juggling*, *legerdemain*, on purpoſe to cozen the world, and their own ſouls; as this author is pleaſed to render them. But to inform him a little better, if yet he needs it; thoſe clubs, as he is pleaſed to term them, that are ſubordinate to a general aſſembly, are not meetings to define and injoin *faith*, or uniformity of *worſhip*, wherein conſcience is more immediately exerciſed; but meetings of *order* and *diſcipline*, to take care of the *poor*, of *fatherleſs* and *widows*, and all that walk up to the holy profeſſion they make: which, I hope, is no argument againſt us, as if we embraced our religion by rote, and not by the illuminations and convictions of the light and Spirit of Chriſt Jeſus.

Page 52. 'And *W. P.* thinks it conſiſtent with 'the honour that is due to the ſcripture, to compare 'it with *Roman legends*.'

Anſwer. He would have done well to have cited the place where I had done ſo ill. I muſt leave it to my reader to do me juſtice againſt this groſs writer, who ſays one of the worſt things without the leaſt proof. I am ſure I could no more have been guilty of ſuch an expreſſion, than of renouncing my own belief: I pray God forgive him! But I would have him remember, that he is one day to be judged for this abuſe.

I come to the ſecond head of my reply; viz.

II.

His *inſinuations* and *inſincerity*.

Page 4. '*W. P.* aſſerting, in ſundry pieces, liberty 'of conſcience to be *ex jure naturali*, has deſtroyed all '*morality*, confounded bleſſings and curſes, good and 'evil, ſomewhat worſe than *Hobbs* himſelf: for *he* only 'aſſerts a *natural liberty*, but this, a *divine privilege* to 'do *wickedneſs* in the *name* of the *Lord*.'

Anſwer. He has not quoted any one book, leſs the place, where he makes me capable of being guilty of ſo dangerous a principle; which, I hope, without being partial, I may ſay, is very diſingenuous. If he can point me to any part of my writings, in defence of that noble principle of *liberty*, that has not in it a ſufficient *ſaving* to *morality*, I will aſk him and the world forgiveneſs; and if it has, I hope he knows whoſe part it is to cry *Peccavi*. But to inſinuate I write for liberty of conſcience, as a natural right, for thoſe that ſhould plead conſcience to *overthrow* it, becauſe I did maintain it in favour of thoſe that kept within the bounds of *morality*, is to ſhew none towards me.

Page

Page 6. He very weakly, as well as unworthily, insinuates a *near relation* betwixt *me* and the *Jesuits*. First, some one of the society may have had, at one time or other, a *title-page* with the words, *misrepresented* and *represented*, in it, which makes up a part of *mine*, with which he is so angry; as if *title-pages* were *confessions* of *faith*, or that the *same words* might not be used by men of *different persuasions*. It is to say, 'Because *misrepresented* may be *misapplied*, therefore it 'is not to be *used*.' Any man may be *misrepresented*; must not he therefore represent himself *aright*, for fear of being a *Jesuit*? This, to be sure, gives a very ill representation of *him*.

In the next place he says, '*W. P.* imping the *Jesuit* 'again, he represents his *own* religion as like *ours* as 'may be, by the new softening method of *Meaux*.'

Truly, I do not know what religion *he* is of; for he has no more told us *that*, than his *name*; but a *Protestant*, I suppose, *at large*: and yet I am ready to think I can subscribe as many of the doctrines of the *Reformation* as himself. But if our religion be so *like* it, why does he labour in his whole treatise to render ours so grossly *contrary* to theirs? Contrary things do not look *alike*, for then they cannot properly be said to be *contrary*. And if we are of so softening a disposition, does he well to be so very *hard*? But truly I think it no fault to have a religion unlike *his*, unless it had more of *sobriety* and *charity* in it. However, the *Jesuits* are much beholden to him, whatever *I* am; it being the first time I have heard their methods esteemed so *soft*: nor had they now had, I believe, that compliment from him, but to render *us* jesuitical, or popish at least.

Page 7. He adds, 'For *W. P.*'s scheme is, first to 'give the *perversion* of Quakerism, and then to repre-'sent it in *equivocal terms*, after his *own way*.'

By which he would have the reader think we are *insincere*, as well as mistaken; and that we have a de-

sign

ſign upon *ourſelves*, to cozen *ourſelves*, as well as the *world*, in the great buſineſs of *ſalvation*. But what muſt that man be that can have ſuch a deſign? Certainly, a *fool* to *himſelf*, and a *devil* to *others*: but then what muſt *they* be, who render men ſo abſurd and impious, only to have their evil ends upon their *character* and *religion*? Doubtleſs they muſt be as *bad* every jot. I muſt needs tell him, that little treatiſe was not intended for criticks, but plain and ordinary underſtandings; to remove common and vulgar prejudices, and in a familiar ſtyle; and not after the biſhop of *Meaux*'s copy, which was performed with much addreſs and exactneſs.

He ſays, 'My terms are *equivocal*.' I am ſure I have moſtly expreſſed myſelf in thoſe of the holy ſcripture: it is a ſingular and unjuſt reflection, to ſay I did it in my *own* way; for it is in that way which is common to the writers of our perſuaſion, and according to the language of the Holy Ghoſt. And it is plain, from more places than this of his book, as p. 23, 41, &c. that he would have that little piece of mine the fruit of great contrivance and deſign: I know not why, unleſs that he might raiſe the greater reputation to his *own* undertaking; as he tells us, p. 5. But that will depend upon the concluſion, which will beſt ſhew how well he has acquitted himſelf.

Page 11, 12. He farther inſinuates, 'That we 'make the *light within* the rule, not only to direct 'our *belief* and *practice* of the *Chriſtian religion*, but to 'diſcover to men the *hiſtory* of the *coming* and *performances* of *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, and that he is *Chriſt* the '*Lord*; and this without the *help* of the *ſcriptures*.'

Anſwer. Now this is very inſincere on his part: for though the light of the *eternal Word* be, without doubt, *ſufficient* to reveal or diſcover thoſe facts where they are *not known*, if God pleaſeth; yet we never ſaid the light was our rule to *that* purpoſe, but to *judge* of that which *is* revealed; or that the diſcoveries it made were of things *paſt* and *hiſtorical*, but of things

immediate

immediate and *practical*, as of *ſin*, in *thought*, *word*, and *deed*, and to be daily aſſiſted to live *ſoberly*, *righteouſly*, and *godly* in this world; to *pray*, and *preach*, and *worſhip* God; which relating to the *ſervice* of Jeſus, and the ſervice of Jeſus being by him allowed to be the *Chriſtian religion*, the aſſerting of that divine *light* to be the holy *rule* of our Chriſtian *conduct* to *perform* thoſe things, deſerves not ſuch abuſive inſinuations and innuendos as this author makes upon us.

Page 14. He would have his reader believe, as if there were not *one paſſage* in all *my part* of that book called, "*The Chriſtian Quaker*," he can *cite* before it be *corrected*, both *ſtile* and *matter*, becauſe he only cites *one* which *he thinks fit* to correct; calling me for it a *lewd author*, and what elſe he pleaſes: but, according to his *uſual practice*, he has inſerted no PAGE to direct us where to *find* this aſſertion. If *to* me he has thought it not *needful*, I muſt tell him, his *amendment* is as *needleſs*; for when I ſpeak of *Chriſt*, I ſay HE; and when of his *body*, I ſay *it*: notwithſtanding, he charges me with other things: but, I think, through the many books I have written, it will never be found *my practice* or *miſtake*, whatever may be the *printer*'s.

Pag. 23. 'Since the *Quakers* will have their *light* to 'be common to *all men*, and not *natural*, there is *no* 'ſuch *thing* in the *univerſe*.'

Anſwer. By which he inſinuates, that a *divine light* cannot be communicated to *every man*, and be *divine*. Would he have ſhewn himſelf a candid author, one that deſired to have informed, and not abuſed us, he would have firſt inſtructed himſelf what we have ſaid on this occaſion. By *natural*, we mean *mere* MAN; his *compoſitum*, or *make*; that is, of the *nature* of man, as he is *man*: by *divine*, what is *above* man, and from GOD, to direct man in all well-pleaſingneſs to him. Yet if by *natural* may be meant, that every man that is *born* into the world has a *portion* of this *light*, or *illuminating principle*, to direct him in the way

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to bleſſedneſs, I ſhould not very much quarrel at the word; it being, in a ſort, *natural* to all men to *have it*; becauſe all men that are *born* (from whence the word *nature* ſprings) as certainly *have it*, as that they are *born* into the world. See John i. 4, 19. 1 Cor. xii.

Theſe few inſtances I thought fit to give of the unjuſt inſinuations and inſincerity of this author; which brings me to my third head, viz.

III.

His *abuſive terms* and *taunts* upon us.

Indeed almoſt every page is freighted with them. My *Key* is a *picklock*, and we are *imps* of the *Jeſuits*: our writings are *apocryphal*, our phraſes like *gypſy-gibberiſh* and *beggars cant*; our arguments *putid ſophiſms*; our leading men a pack of *jugglers*, *ſophiſtical*, of *ſuborned* ſenſe; men of *tricks* and *legerdemain*, abuſing honeſt-meaning men, as *jugglers* do plain country people; *ranting cant*, and that I *debauch* the *ſcriptures*; with much more of this ſtrain and ſtile; beſides that ſcorn and levity, which very much unbecomes one that pretends to correct others in matters of religion. I would fain have this author to conſider whether he has acted like one that has any reverence towards God, or compaſſion to a miſtaken people, ſuppoſing us to be ſuch. Certainly, whether *we* are in the right or no, *he* muſt needs be in the wrong, and his religion *vain*, that has no better bridle to his tongue or pen: which ſaid, I ſhall betake myſelf to my fourth head.

IV.

His pretended *anſwers* and *interpretations* of *ſcripture* conſidered.

The firſt perverſion, mentioned in my *Key*, is pag. 1. viz. 'The *Quakers* hold, That the *natural light* in the 'conſcience of *every man* in the *world* is ſufficient to *ſave* 'all

'all that *follow* it:' which, by the way after the flouriſh of an *anſwer* to the *Key*, (at leaſt as to our doctrine of the *light*) is all that is *cited* by him; ſo that my explanations of our principle, in anſwer to this, and three other perverſions upon this doctrine at the ſame time, are not ſo much as taken *notice* of by this man, that pretends to have conſidered them *all*. But let us hear what he ſays upon this perverſion.

Pag. 7. 'This is no *perverſion*; unleſs no *objection* 'made againſt a tenet be a *perverſion* of a tenet; which 'no body thinks beſides *W. P.* For we only ſay, That 'the Quakers believe that a *natural* light is *ſupernatural* 'and *ſaving*: we *miſtake* not their *meaning*, but oppoſe 'it as an *error*.'

Anſwer. He that changes the *terms* of a *Queſtion*, abuſes his *antagoniſt*, and perverts the *argument*; which is the caſe: for the people called Quakers never ſaid, that a *natural* light was *ſupernatural*, or ſufficient to *ſalvation*: and if *natural* be not their *term*, then it is a *perverſion* of their *principle*. For whether they are *miſtaken* in their principle, or no, is not the queſtion; but whether their principle is not *miſgiven* by their enemies. This author ſeems to make it *natural* in another place, becauſe we affirm it is *common* to all, or that all are *enlightened*: but this begs the queſtion in point of *argument*, and will not rectify or defend a matter that is in fact falſe: for beſides that it is not fair in any to charge their conſequences upon others for principles, it is plain what any people *ſay* is their principle, is the rule for *us* to know whether what their adverſaries *ſay* is ſo, *be* their principle or not. Suppoſe it were true, that what is common is natural; yet if we do not *ſay* ſo, it is a *perverſion* of what we ſay; and as ſuch I give it in my *Key*. For, as I ſaid before, what any people declare *is* their principle, is the rule for others to know whether what their adverſaries *give* for their principle be *theirs* or not: now whether the *light* we call *divine* be *natural* or no, ſhall be conſidered in its place: but that a *natural* light ſhould be *ſuper*-natural and *ſaving*,

is not our *principle*, but their *perverſion* and *contradiction*. Waving, then, any more of my *Key*, which he pretends to anſwer, he undertakes to ſtate our religion, and the controverſy between us, in his *own* terms and not *ours*; which I will not ſay is a *lewd*, but a *foul* way of treating any people or opponent, in my judgment; and I think I am not miſtaken.—His words are theſe:

Pag. 8. 'If any thing they ſay deſerves *conſideration*, 'this is the point; and of this they ſay, 1. That the '*light within* is the *rule* of the *Chriſtian religion*. '2. That it is *God* and *Chriſt*. 3. That *Quakeriſm* is 'taught them *by it*.'

Anſwer. I could be glad this author ſaid any thing that deſerved the conſideration of good and wiſe men: I am ſure he deſerves their reproof, that will not let us confeſs our *faith* in our own *words*, nor expreſs our *religion* in our own *way*. However, I will obſerve what he ſays, as diſingenuous as it is; and not write forty pages upon four lines, as he has partially cited out of my *Key*, and then call it an *Anſwer*. It is not *our* way of ſpeaking to ſay, 'The *light within* is the *rule* of the '*Chriſtian religion*;' but, 'That the light of *Chriſt* 'within us is the *rule* of true Chriſtians;' ſo 'that it is, 'not *our* light, but *Chriſt*'s light that is our *rule*.' "For in him was life, and that life the light of men," John i. 4, 9. chap. viii. 12. *Life* in the *word*, *light* in *men*; and *life* (too) where it is *obeyed*. For Chriſt promiſes "the light of *life* to all that follow *him*, the *true* "light that enlightens every man that cometh into the "world." Chriſt *himſelf* hath made it the *rule* of his followers: "But he that doth truth, cometh to the "*light*, that his deeds may be made *manifeſt* that they "are wrought in *God*." So that Chriſtians are to ſquare their lives by the light of Jeſus; therefore it is their *rule*. It is the Chriſtian *path* to bleſſedneſs. Chriſt exhorts his followers to *walk* in the light. The beloved diſciple begins his epiſtles, as he does his hiſtory of the goſpel, with the *divinity* and *doctrine* of the *light*; telling us, "That *God* is *light*; that if we would have

" fellowſhip with *God*, we muſt walk in this *light*; and " that the blood of Jeſus Chriſt cleanſeth thoſe *only* " that *walk* in this light; and that religion *without* it is " a *lie*," 1 John i. To which let me add, That in his book of Revelations, conſonant thereunto, he ſaith, " That the nations of them that are *ſaved* ſhall *walk* " in the light (of the lamb)." Rev. xxi. 23, 24. The apoſtle Paul makes it univerſal and effectual, in his epiſtle to the Epheſians, chap. v. 13. " But all things that " are reproved (or *diſcovered*) are made manifeſt by the " *light*; for whatſoever doth make *manifeſt* is *light*." Now all being *reproved*, all have *light*; and ſince that light manifeſts every thing that is to be *known*, Chriſt *himſelf* was known *by it*, and the religion he taught diſcovered *by it* to be of God; and ſuch *only* received him and it, as *obeyed* this light in their conſciences. The ſame light is by the ſame apoſtle rendered the Chriſtian's *armour*; " And let us *put on* the armour of " *light*;" ſays he, " let us walk honeſtly, as in the *day*; " not in rioting and drunkenneſs, not in chambering " and wantonneſs, not in ſtrife and envying; but put " ye on the *Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, and make no proviſion " for the fleſh, to fulfil the luſts thereof:" making it the ſame thing to put on the *armour* of *light*, and to put on the *Lord Jeſus Chriſt*; certainly, then, *Chriſt* muſt be that *light*, and that *light muſt be Chriſt*. But he objects to this doctrine.

Page 11. 'The *Chriſtian religion* is nothing but the 'ſervice of *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*.—Nothing, then, can be 'the *rule* of this religion, but what diſcovers to us that 'there is one *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, and that he is *Chriſt* 'the *Lord*. But never was any one man inſtructed by 'that *light* that is in the *conſcience* of every *man*, that 'there ever was ſuch an one as *Jeſus of Nazareth*, much 'leſs that he was the *Lord*, and leaſt of all what he *re-* 'quired of his *ſervants*: therefore no *light within*, com- 'mon to *all mankind*, can be the *rule* of the *Chriſtian* 'religion; ſince it was never poſſible for any man to

'learn the *leaſt part* of the Chriſtian religion by the 'light that is in every man's *conſcience*.'

To the firſt part of what he ſays, 'That the *Chriſtian* 'religion is nothing but the *ſervice* of *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*,' I ſhall eaſily agree: for the ſervice of Jeſus of Nazareth, is the ſervice of the *God* and *Father* of Jeſus of Nazareth; and that is, "to *fear God*, and *keep his com-* "*mandments*; and to *love God* above *all*, and our "*neighbours as ourſelves*; this is the *whole duty* of man," Eccl. xii. 13. Matt. xxii. 37, 39. that which man has to do in the world for ſalvation.

To the ſecond part of his propoſition, viz. 'That 'nothing can be the *rule* of this religion, but what 'diſcovers to us that there is one *Jeſus of Nazareth*, 'and that he is *Chriſt* the *Lord*,' I ſhall likewiſe agree, upon diſtinction. I diſtinguiſh, then, between an *hiſtorical* and *ſpiritual* diſcovery of Jeſus of Nazareth; and ſo of the *rule* by which he and his ſervice are to be known. The *ſcriptures* tell us of the birth, life, miniſtry, death, reſurrection, and aſcenſion of Jeſus of Nazareth; and, in brief, of the miniſtry and ſufferings of his bleſſed followers and apoſtles; and it muſt be acknowledged to be a great mercy and privilege to us, that we have them: but *they* cannot ſavingly reveal Chriſt to a ſoul; neither can they give us the ſoul and ſubſtance of thoſe things that are thereby *declared*. They are an exact *map*, or *picture* of things, but not the *things themſelves*. It is the office of the *divine light* and *ſpirit* of *Chriſt* to ſhew men theſe ſecrets; and to none are they, or can they be known, but thoſe that walk according to the convictions of it: firſt, "In ceaſing to do *evil*, 'and denying all ungodlineſs and the world's luſts;" and then, "in learning to do *well*, and living ſoberly, "righteouſly, and godly in this preſent world." So that thoſe that read the ſcriptures of truth, by which they have an *hiſtorical* knowledge of the coming of Chriſt, and ſo are a rule to *that* knowledge, as alſo to the doctrines therein expreſly declared, they muſt come to the *light* of the *eternal word* to *underſtand* them, and to ſee the glory of the Only-begotten of the Father,

as thoſe of old beheld it; elſe the ſcripture is as a ſealed book. Who knows *God*, by *reading* of him; or *Chriſt*, by *reading* of him; or *regeneration*, by *reading* of it? unleſs God is pleaſed, by the *light* of his *Son*, the true "*Key* of *David*," to come in upon the ſoul, and open to it the deep things of God, viz. the *new creation*, or the *regeneration*, of man. Wherefore the *light* or *ſpirit* of *Chriſt*, (which are the ſame) is the firſt great rule; even the rule of *underſtanding* the ſcriptures, which we own to be the ſecondary rule: and we ſay, That a *meaſure* thereof is given to *all* to profit with; to *lighten* all, and ſearch and lead all in the way of holineſs, which is the way of eternal happineſs. His minor propoſition I muſt deny, viz. 'But never was any one 'man inſtructed by that *light* that is in the *conſcience* of 'every *man*, that there ever was ſuch an one as *Jeſus* of '*Nazareth*, much leſs that he was the *Lord*, and leaſt 'of all what he *required* of his *ſervants*.'

In this I muſt diſſent from him, eſpecially as to the latter part: for though, as I have already ſaid, the ſcriptures are an *hiſtorical* rule, and *doctrinal* too, ſo far as they are *plain* and *expreſs*; yet the trueſt and moſt powerful evidence to authorize our belief of them, is the teſtimony of the *light* and *ſpirit* of the *eternal word*, from whence they *came*, and that anſwers to its *own*. This the martyrs aſſerted, as *Hooper*, *Bradford*, *Smith*, *Saunders*, *Rogers*, &c. alſo *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Peter Martyr*, and *Eraſmus* himſelf, refer to it in proof of the divine authority of them; as may be ſeen in the "Book of "Martyrs," as alſo in the writings of theſe authors upon the "authority of the ſcriptures." But if the light we contend for does not *ordinarily* reveal the *hiſtory* of Jeſus Chriſt, who dare ſay it *cannot* do ſo? Is it not more reaſonable to ſuppoſe that there may be no abſolute *neceſſity* of it; ſince then God would have left much the greateſt part of the world without the *means* of ſalvation? Yet if it reveal *that* which he commanded his ſervants both to *practiſe* and *preach*, it overthrows his propoſition; and plainly proves that the *ſoul* and *ſubſtance* of what Chriſt commanded his followers, *is* revealed,

revealed, more or leſs, to *all people*, in *all nations*, by this deſpiſed *light within*. And, beſides *experience*, (which I ſhall anon come to) the *holy ſcriptures* ſpeak as much; for, ſays the prophet Micah, (Micah vi. 8.) "God hath *ſhewn* to thee, O man, what is *good*; and "what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do *juſtly*, "and love *mercy*, and to walk *humbly* with thy God? Here is both *duty*, and the way to *underſtand* it. Now this duty and ſervice, is the ſervice of *God*, and ſo of *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, who came to *teach* men ſo to do, viz. "To do *juſtly*, love *mercy*, and walk *humbly* with God." The *way* to know and do this, is God's *illumination* of man. "GOD has *ſhewn* unto thee, O man!" How does God *ſhew* man? "Whatſoever makes *manifeſt* is "*light*," ſays the apoſtle Paul to the Epheſians, Eph. v. 13, 14. So that it is by the *light* of the *word*, by which he made all things, that he *ſhews* unto men all things neceſſary to ſalvation, viz. "What is *good*, and what "he *requires* of him:" what ſervice, homage, and obedience he expects. So that here we have both the *univerſality* and *ſufficiency* of the light. Correſponding herewith is that great ſaying of the ſame apoſtle to the Romans, Rom. i. 19. "For that which may be *known* "of God is *manifeſt* in them, for God hath *ſhewn* it "unto them." Which way, I pray, does God *manifeſt* the knowledge of himſelf in men, but by the *light* of the bleſſed *word*, by whom he *made* man, and without whom nothing was made that is made? "In him was "life, and that life the light of men; and this is the "true light that enlightens every man that cometh "into the world." John i. 4, 9.

Now that the *Chriſtian religion* is this duty, ſervice, and knowledge of God, we may ſatisfy ourſelves, from that bleſſed ſermon of bleſſings, preached by Chriſt upon the mount, Matt. v. "Bleſſed are the poor in "ſpirit; bleſſed are they that mourn; (for their *ſins*, "and for want of feeling peace with God) bleſſed "are the meek; bleſſed are they that hunger and thirſt "after righteouſneſs; bleſſed are the merciful; bleſſed "are the pure in heart; bleſſed are the peace-makers;

" and bleſſed are they which are perſecuted for righte-
" ouſneſs ſake." If theſe *ſtates* were *bleſſed*, and thoſe who were under theſe bleſſed qualifications; then, to be ſure, ſuch were in the *ſervice* of Jeſus of Nazareth, though he was not then *offered-up*, and that they knew not his *hiſtory*. Now that all have a *light* to ſhew them the *happineſs* of theſe ſtates, the *univerſal teſtimony* of all *ages* and *nations* aſſures us; and, to deny it, is to ſay, 'The ſun did never ſhine, ſince there was a man 'in the world!'

The ſame may be ſaid of the reſt of his excellent ſermon: 'As that we ſhould ſeek *God*, in the *firſt* place, 'and truſt providence for the *reſt*, and live by faith in 'his goodneſs; be charitable and devout without oſten-'tation: not ſo much as luſt in the mind, and ſpeak 'truth without an oath; bear abuſes; forgive ene-'mies; be ſparing of cenſuring others; and finally '*do*, as well as *hear*, the word of God, and to all men 'as we would be done to.' Theſe excellent things, more naturally and excellently expreſſed in that *ſermon*, than in the writings of the moſt enlightened *Gentiles*, are yet to be found up and down in the account given us of their lives and doctrines by *Strabo*, *Laertius*, *Herbert*, *Stanly*, *Cudworth*, and my part of the *Chriſtian Quaker*. By all which it may be ſeen, that the *bleſſed word*, who did *himſelf* preach ſo plainly and fully, yet conciſely, this admirable doctrine, had enlightened *thoſe Gentiles* with great knowledge, and inſtructed them therein; and that, ſeveral hundred years before he came in the *fleſh*. I hope the keeping of theſe *commands*, and obeying the *precepts* of Jeſus of Nazareth, will be allowed to be the *ſervice* of Jeſus of Nazareth, or elſe nothing is; and if ſo, then I muſt conclude, he *may* be ſerved and obeyed of thoſe that are *not acquainted* with his coming in the fleſh, and becoming *perſonally* an holy *miniſter* among the *Jews*, and, in concluſion, an holy *offering* for the *world*. For it is very poſſible that a man may receive *benefit* by a medicine, of whoſe *compoſition* he may be ignorant. And in *general pardons*, it is not commonly known, by thoſe that ſenſibly have

have the advantage thereof, by *whoſe* favour and advice the prince was influenced to *grant* it.

Since, then, humility, mercy, patience, purity, brotherly-kindneſs, faith in God, hope of life eternal, charity to men, doing as a man would be done to, and that with a diſtinct and religious reference and regard to him that muſt finally judge all men, muſt neceſſarily belong to the *ſervice* of Jeſus of Nazareth, ſince it is the *ſubſtance* of what Jeſus of Nazareth *preached*, and the *end* of the labour, travels and writings of his bleſſed apoſtles, (and that theſe things were, in a meaſure, in the world, before the coming of Jeſus of Nazareth in the fleſh, and that even thoſe that knew him, and received him when he did come, were thoſe that walked up to the *light* of the *word*, by which alone his inward beauty and glory were ſeen) we may reaſonably conclude, againſt this author, That the *light* with which the *Word-God* enlightened *men*, was a *divine*, *ſpiritual*, and ſaving light, becauſe it revealed theſe truths to *Gentiles* as well as *Jews*, that had an *immediate* tendency to *ſalvation*; and that in *all ages*. And that whoſoever have walked according to its righteous dictates, as well *before*, as ſince the coming of Chriſt (the Eternal *Word*) in the fleſh, did ſo far perform the *ſervice* of Jeſus of Nazareth, as they thereby ſerved the *God* and *Father* of Jeſus of Nazareth; for ſays Chriſt himſelf, "He "that doth the will of my *Father*, the ſame is my "mother, my brother, and my ſiſter."

To ſum up this; once more, I ſay, We never ſaid the light within is given to all mankind to reveal facts *done*, or *hiſtorical* accounts of perſons and actions, though we cannot ſay it is not *able* to do it; but, ordinarily, the *nature* of things, as to *truth* and *falſhood*, *obligation* and *duty*, *commiſſion* and *omiſſion*: and therefore we ſay, That though *all* did not foreſee the coming of Chriſt, with the circumſtances that attended him, as ſome of the *prophets* did, (that being an *extraordinary* manifeſtation of this light) yet *all* had the *ordinary* manifeſtation of it, to do *juſtly*, love *mercy*, and walk *humbly* with the Lord: and ſo they have *now*, though they have not

the *extraordinary* revelation of the *history* of JESUS of *Nazareth:* in which reſpect we confeſs the ſcriptures to be a *ſecondary* rule, an *hiſtorical* rule, and a rule of the form of ſound words in *doctrinal* truths: but the firſt and *great* rule is the *light* and *ſpirit* of God; as *that* was the rule to *them*, by *whom* the ſcriptures were given forth, in their *giving* them forth: and we alſo affirm, The light and ſpirit of God a rule to read and *underſtand* the ſcriptures by: and this was plainly ſeen in Chriſt's time: for the Jews that *rebelled* againſt the light, had the *veil* over their underſtandings, ſo that they could not *ſee* his glory, but judged of him according to *outward* appearance, which was not righteous judgment; but thoſe that *loved* the light in that day, the truly conſcientious to God, they brought their deeds to the light: they knew him to be the *Eternal Word*, manifeſted in the *fleſh*, and thereby ſaw his *inward* glory to be that of "the only begotten of the Father, full of "Grace, and full of truth."

If he *object*, 'If all *had* this *light*, why did not all 'know him?' As, indeed, that is the weight of his objection, and other adverſaries oppoſitions.

I anſwer; all have *reaſon*, but all are not *reaſonable*; all do not *uſe* it: ſo all have *light*, but all do not *obey* it. It is not the light's inſufficiency, but man's diſobedience, that renders him *uncapable* of the knowledge of divine truth. Chriſt told the Jews, "If you "do my will, you ſhall know of my doctrine, whether "it be of God or no." Obeying the convictions, and firſt motions, of this divine light, will *increaſe* our light and knowledge. Diſobedience makes an *unfruitful ground*, though the *ſeed* be *good* that is ſown in it: ſo that the *ignorance* of thoſe that *have* the light, is not chargeable upon the *light*, but their own *darkneſs*, which comprehends it not, through unbelief and diſobedience. The ſcriptures, then, are the rule to us of the *hiſtory of Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, and neceſſary to be believed where they are known; but the *divine light* and *ſpirit*, the firſt and great rule by which they are to be truly and

profitably

profitably read and believed; and without which Chriſt could not have been *ſavingly* known when he was in the world; nor can he be known *now*, nor the ſcriptures that *declare* of him: HE is the common rule to mankind, who by his light reveals common and eſſential truths, relating to the fear of God, and working of righteouſneſs: and it will be hard for this man to name one nation or perſon in the world, that knows not the reproofs of this principle in *evil*-doing, and, in doing that which is *right*, has not a reference to the pleaſing of Him, who is the great Rewarder and Preſerver of men, notwithſtanding his cavil to the contrary, pag. 12, 13. But I ſhall attend his farther exceptions.

Pag. 13. 'They affirm the *light within* is *Chriſt*; 'and I ſay then, it is nothing elſe but *Jeſus of Naza-'reth.* If they make the light within to be *Chriſt*, 'and not *Jeſus of Nazareth*, they make it *antichriſt*: 'and becauſe they worſhip God in this appearance '(as they ſpeak) they are *antichriſtian idolaters.*'

Anſwer. This way of arguing is very dark, as well as injurious. If by *Jeſus of Nazareth* he only means what he took of the Virgin *Mary*, and will not conſider him as the Eternal *Word*, but as *man*, like to us in all things, ſin excepted, he is *not* the light within, that we declare of, and worſhip God in.

But this author, at the ſame time, declares not to believe that Chriſt *is* the Eternal Word, for he ſeems to deny his pre-exiſtence; much more, that the world, and all that is therein, was *made* by him. And how orthodox that is, let the impartial judge. If he owns Chriſt to be the *Word-God* manifeſted in the *fleſh*, then, I ſay, the light is *Chriſt*, as much as Chriſt can be called the *light*; and ſo not only *John* calls him, John i. 4, 9. but he calls himſelf ſo, John viii. 12.

This antagoniſt ſeems too eager and raſh, or he would have reflected better upon the *way* of the Holy Ghoſt's ſpeaking in *ſcripture*; for ſometimes Chriſt is ſo called with relation to his divine nature, and ſometimes

times with reſpect to his manhood. As he was of the *ſeed of Abraham*, he is not *God over all, bleſſed for ever*; he is not the *Eternal Word*, in whom is *life*, and that *life* is the *light* of men. And as he *hungered, thirſted, ſorrowed, wept, died*, he was not the *Divine Light* that lighteth *every* man that cometh into the world: yet he is alternatively called *Chriſt*, ſometimes *Chriſt without man*, ſometimes *Chriſt* in *man*, the hope of his glory; according to the double reſpect he ſtood and ſtands in. Let not men ſeparate what God has joined; which has been too much the practice of our oppoſers, to draw a line of reflection over our religion, as if it denied *Jeſus of Nazareth* to be *Chriſt* the *Lord*, becauſe we aſſerted him the *Light of the world*, and as ſuch to be *in man:* whereas they who conſider him but in *one* capacity, are too ſtrict with the text, to wrong us, and ſo in the end draw the reflection upon themſelves. But to run this abuſe on the Holy Ghoſt, as well as us, ſo high, as therefore to ſtile us *antichriſtian idolaters*, ſhews a bitterneſs, as well as miſtake, that by no means becomes a critick upon other mens religion.

But that he may apply this injuſtice home, he is pleaſed that it ſhould light upon me, and therefore he quotes a paſſage out of my part of the *Chriſtian Quaker*, though not the *page*. I wave the *ſcurrility* of his introduction to it, pag. 14, 15. This is the paſſage, as he gives it:

" *The power, life, and light which inhabited that*
" *Holy Perſon, which (or who) was born at Bethlehem,*
" *was and is, chiefly and eminently, the Saviour, as pre-*
" *pared for the work which Chriſt had to do in him.*"
' *By which* (ſays he) *he makes the light within to be their*
' *Chriſt, and Jeſus of Nazareth the prepared inſtrument*
' *of this Chriſt.*'

Now by this, the *reader* will have a clear taſte of the juſtice of this writer.

My words are thus laid down by me, (*Chriſtian Quaker*, pag. 104. chap. 21.) " *We confeſs, that though*
" *the eternal power, life, light, which inhabited that Holy*
" *Perſon which was born at* Nazareth, *was, and is,*

" *chiefly*

" *chiefly and eminently the Saviour,* Hoſ. xiii. 4. (For " there is no Saviour beſides me, *ſaith God,*" this he left out) " *yet that it was inſtrumentally a Saviour, as* " *prepared and choſen for the work which Chriſt had then* " *to do in it, which was actually to the ſalvation of* " *ſome, and intentionally of the whole world, then, and* " *in ages to come; ſuitable to that ſcripture,* Heb. x. 5, " 6. Lo I come, in the volume of the book it is " written of me, to do thy will, O God! A body " thou haſt prepared me." By which it is plain with what unfairneſs he gave my words before: firſt, he left out my quotation out of Hoſea, " *For there is no* " *Saviour beſides me,* ſaith God;" whereby it appears that the eternal power, life, and light, was eminently concerned in man's ſalvation. Secondly, he concealed that ſcripture in the concluſion of the paragraph, out of the Hebrews, " *A body haſt thou prepared me,*" &c. which plainly interprets what I mean by *perſon,* and by *which,* and *it,* that he is pleaſed to change for *who,* and *he* and *him,* to render me at once abſurd and erroneous, and about which he calls me a *lewd author,* and all to naught. This was done of malice, doubtleſs, the better to have his evil end of me, by wringing my words to the ſenſe he deſigned they ſhould bear. Making me to *divide,* as well as *diſtinguiſh,* between *Chriſt* and Jeſus of *Nazareth,* and *Chriſt* and him that was born of the *Virgin Mary,* reading *it, he* and *him,* which referred to the body; ſo making me to intend Jeſus of *Nazareth,* completely conſidered, when I plainly intended, from the nature of the words of the text, and thoſe words and the ſcripture cited by me, in proof and illuſtration of what I meant by them, the *body* of Chriſt Jeſus of Nazareth.

Thus much of his conſtruction of the words he quotes out of the " Chriſtian Quaker," before cited: but if he will allow us to ſpeak our own mind in our own words, and had rather we were in the right than in the wrong, which does but become an ingenuous author (though it thereby appear that we are not what

he

he had ſaid us to be) then let him know, we do not *divide*, or *diſtinguiſh*, between *Chriſt*, and *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*. Nor did we ever ſay, that *Jeſus* of *Nazareth* is Chriſt's *inſtrument* to appear in, and by, for man's ſalvation; but, that the "*Word* took fleſh," and *this* is the *Chriſt*, or *Anointed* of God: and though ſometimes the term *Chriſt* is given to the *Word*, ſometimes to the prepared *body* he took, as when he is ſaid to *die*, and be *buried*, and *raiſed again*, &c. yet "*God* "manifeſt in the *fleſh*," and "Immanuel," God *with us*, in our *nature*, is that *Chriſt of God*, or *Chriſt the Lord*, that God hath, and will exalt; the Enlightener, Redeemer, and Saviour of the world, both an offering for all, and the Mediator and Sanctifier of all, that deſire to come to God by Him.

But he farther urges againſt us, and our doctrine of the light within, as what is fallacious on our part to draw in proſelytes, and which he terms a *putid ſophiſm*, pag. 21, 22. viz. 'Is there not a *light* in every man's 'conſcience? You experience one in your *own*. And 'is not *God* light? And *Chriſt* light? And is not *God* 'within, and *Chriſt* within? Now this is all very true: 'but when from hence they infer, God is the light 'within, it is *putid ſophiſm*. God being *light*, and 'being *within* men, proves not that God is a *light* 'within men. God *is* light, and God is within *other* 'things as well as *men*: is then God a *light within* to 'every *tree*, every *beaſt*, every *ſtar*? If this be abſurd, 'then God's being *light*, and being *within*, proves but 'ſophiſtically that He is the *light within*. And yet 'this is the conſtant method the *Quakers* uſe to teach 'their people the *divinity* of the *light within*.

Anſwer. I hope he will find no cauſe to blame me for *imperfect*, and leſs for *perverted* quotations. I cite him fairly and fully. Now, for anſwer, I ſay, I never ſaw or heard of that way of reaſoning or tampering, as he ſtiles it, that he charges upon us to make proſelytes by. And I think I ought to be at leaſt as well verſed in our way and writings as himſelf. All reaſonable

ſonable people will readily allow, they have ſuch a light; and in reading the holy ſcriptures, they find the enlightened penmen call *God* light, and *Chriſt* light, and are naturally led to believe, that their light is from *God*, the Fountain of all light, eſpecially when they read the firſt chapter of John, and that of his firſt epiſtle alſo. And it is granted by this man, that God is *in* men, and that God is a *light* within men. Indeed his argument does not prove it, for it is not regularly formed to make ſuch a concluſion, which is his fault, becauſe it is of his own making: but neither is it a ſophiſm, or ſophiſtical in us, nor is the reaſon good that he gives againſt it, viz. Becauſe it is abſurd to ſay, 'That God is a light within trees, 'beaſts, and ſtars,' becauſe God is within them, and God is light; therefore it is ſo to ſay, That God is a light within *men*. For trees, beaſts, and ſtars, &c. are not of man's nature and capacity, they are not *capable* of ſuch a manifeſtation of the light of God, as man is: God is in them after another and lower manner, and to other ends and purpoſes. But why *God*, who is confeſſed to be *light*, and *in* man, ſhould not be *a* light then *to* man, I cannot comprehend. I do not ſay that it ſtrictly follows in the argument, but the reaſon given againſt it is *no* reaſon; and reaſon and ſcripture judge for us. For man being a *reaſonable* creature, it is his duty, and the end of his being, to *know* and ſerve God, the Author of it; but this he cannot do, unleſs God *manifeſt* himſelf unto him: and ſince this man grants, 'That God is light, and in 'ſome ſort *in* man,' to what better purpoſe, or which way more properly and beneficially, can he be ſaid to be *in* man, than as a *light* ſhining there, to give him the *knowledge* of God? So that he is not only there as the Creator and Supporter of his being, but as his *Illuminator* and *Inſtructor* to his well-being. The ſcriptures already cited ſufficiently prove, that *God* is light, and *Chriſt* is light, and that all men are *enlightened* by him; and to be ſure it muſt be with his *own* light. Now, though with a fair adverſary, one might ſay,

without

without offence, 'That *God*, or *Chriſt*, is the light 'within man,' yet it is not the common way of our expreſſing ourſelves.

To be ſure we have no ſuch meaning in that way of ſpeaking, as ſome adverſaries ſtrain our words to, as if God and Chriſt were comprehenſible *in* and *by* man, to render us abſurd and blaſphemous. But we rather chuſe to ſay, 'That God, or Chriſt, who is 'light, hath *lighted* man; and by the light of *Chriſt* 'in man, man comes to know God and Chriſt: and 'that the light in man, is the light of *God*, or of '*Chriſt*;' and not that God, or Chriſt, is the *light* in man. The light in a room at noon-day, is the light of the *ſun*; but the SUN cannot ſo properly be ſaid to be in the room, becauſe its *light* is there; for the glorious, unapproachable BODY of it is elſewhere. I hope this will not paſs with the ſober reader for a *putid ſophiſm*.

He farther ſays, p. 24. 'I may not now-a-days, there-'fore, tell *Quakers* their own religion is *falſe*, without 'telling them what is the *truth*; leſt I ſhould tempt 'them to leave *Quakeriſm* for impiety and irreligion, 'and not for the ſervice of *Jeſus Chriſt*.'

Anſwer. We are beholden to him, that he thinks our religion a bar to impiety and irreligion; and I wiſh neither had appeared in his oppoſing of it. The truth he has a mind to tell us, lieth in a few words, upon which he beſtows no leſs than fifteen pages, (viz.) 'That the light which God hath given to man 'for ſalvation, generally ſpeaking, is, beſides creation 'and providence, the writings of the inſpired men 'of the Old and New Teſtament, which we call the 'ſcriptures of *truth*; no light, ſpirit, or grace, com-'monly or ordinarily opening and aſſiſting our under-'ſtandings in the reading of them; but that the light, 'which is in men, is the effects of the *perceptive* fa-'culties of our minds, that is, our *thoughts*,' as he alſo tells us, pag. 9. So that what we read and hear with our outward eyes and ears, is thereby reported to

our

our mind or judgment, whoſe *concluſion* thereupon is this man's *light within.*

But, methinks, before he had been ſo poſitive and voluminous in his own notion, (where he will find very few abettors, I believe) he ſhould have been ſo fair as to have conſidered what I have ſaid in my *Key*, p. 1, 2. That ſeems to me to have more materially referred to *another* light within, than he has yet brought himſelf to. I will give the paſſage at large as it lieth, that it may ſpeak for itſelf:

" The Quakers belief and aſſertion is, That Chriſt, " who is the Word, that was with God, and was God " (John i. 4, 9.) and is ſo for ever) hath enlightened " every man that cometh into the world, with his " *own* light; as he is that *true* light, or ſuch a light " as there is no other to be *compared* to him; which " is the meaning of the emphaſis *true* in the text. " And that ſuch as follow the reproofs, convictions, " and leadings of that light, with which he enlightens " the underſtandings and conſciences of men, ſhall " not walk in darkneſs: that is, in *evil*, and *ignorance* " of God; but ſhall have the light of life: that is, " be in an holy and *living* ſtate or condition towards " God: a ſtate of acceptance and ſalvation, which is " from *ſin*, as well as from *wrath*; (ſee Iſa. xlix. 6. " John i. 4, 9. c. iii. 21. c. v. 40. c. viii. 12. " c. x. 10.) And for which end Chriſt was given of " God. So that they aſſert the light of *Chriſt* to be " ſufficient to ſave; that is, to convince of ſin, lead " out of it, and quicken the ſoul in the ways of ho- " lineſs: and not a *natural* light, otherwiſe than as *all* " *men*, born into the world, have a meaſure of " *Chriſt*'s light, and ſo it may, in a ſenſe, be ſaid to " be *natural* to all men, becauſe all men *have* it. For " this light is *ſomething* elſe than the bare *underſtand-* " *ing* man hath as a rational creature: for as ſuch, " man cannot be a light to himſelf; but has only a " *capacity* of *ſeeing*, by means of the *light* with which " *Chriſt*, the *Word*, enlighteneth him. For we can " no more be a *mental* or *intellectual* light to ourſelves,

" than

" than we are an *external* and *corporeal* light to our-
" ſelves: but as the *ſun* in the firmament is the light
" of our *bodies*, ſo the light of the divine *word* is the
" ſun of our *ſouls*; the glorious luminary of the in-
" tellectual world; and they that walk in it, will, by
" it, be led to bleſſedneſs." Rev. xxi. 24.

Of all which, he takes this imperfect notice, 'The 'concurrence of many cauſes being requiſite to pro-'duce faith, the *Quakers* confound theſe inſpirations 'with the *light*, and attribute the efficiency of *one* 'cauſe to *another*; which muſt needs pervert all ſound 'judgment of things, and make them ſpeak inconſiſt-'encies; as when W. P. ſays, " *Man* cannot be a " light to *himſelf*," 'as if the denial of the *divinity* of 'the light within, implied any ſuch thing; and " man has only a *capacity* to *ſee*;" 'as if the defect 'was in God's works in nature, and in the ſcripture, 'and not in man's *ſeeing* faculty. Now ſuch expreſ-'ſions ſhew his apprehenſions are much perverted about 'theſe things.'

Anſwer. But this ſhews my opponent to be either ſhallow, or worſe. I would be ſo charitable as to think he miſtakes me, and in the concluſion abuſeth himſelf. For why do the Quakers confound thoſe inſpirations with the light? We never limited all divine inſpirations and operations to the light, merely as it is *light*, as phyſically, and by his natural philoſophy, he ſeems to explain it. We ever meant a *principle* in man, that is not *of* man, that is variouſly denominated by its various operations: *light*, from diſcerning and diſtinction: *ſpirit*, from life and power: *word*, as it ſpeaks forth God's mind to man: *truth* in the inward parts, as it deals truly with man, and would redeem him from lying vanities: and *grace*, as it is God's gift, and not man's underſtanding, or man's merit. I ſhall not therefore quarrel with his natural philoſophy, p. 37, when he ſays, 'The ſun generates 'all life, and its faculties in bodies, but not by its 'light;' for we never ſaid it did, with reference to the light within: elſe all men would have divine *life* as well

well as light; which was never our aſſertion, nor a juſt concluſion from that which is, it being ſcripture, viz. John i. 4. "In Him, the Word, is life, and that life "the *light* of men;" not the *life* of men, but as they *obey* it: according to that clear and full expreſſion of our bleſſed Lord, John viii. 12. "I am the light of "the world; he that followeth me ſhall not walk in "darkneſs, but ſhall have the light of life;" that is *life*, as well as light. They that read him, will ſee who keeps neareſt to the text, and who walks cloſeſt to the rule and form of ſound words; which, we hope, neither he, nor any of his abettors, ſhall ever be able to draw or drive us from.

For the uſe he makes of theſe words of mine; "And man has only a *capacity* to *ſee*;" (viz.) 'As if 'the defect was in God's works in nature and in the 'ſcriptures, and not in man's *ſeeing* faculties;' he utterly miſtakes me; I will not ſay, wilfully; but upon that he makes a great pother, and depends the ſtrength of his concluſion: for I ſpeak of man in his *creation*, and he of man in his *fall*. The concluſion cannot be right, that is drawn from wrong premiſes; and I hope he, when he thinks again, will think ſo too; and that his pains, p. 36, 37. might have been ſpared. For I hope he will not think there was any defect in paradiſe! as there muſt have been, if man had been defective in his ſeeing faculty; for even there he was but *man*, and, as ſuch, he could not be his *own* light; which is plain, in that when he erred, he erred from ſomething elſe than *himſelf*, himſelf *erring*; therefore that ſomething elſe muſt be the *divine light* he erred from; in which if he had kept, the ſubtle inſinuations of the ſerpent had never prevailed.

Man, then, had only the *capacity* of ſeeing all divine objects; as truth, wiſdom, goodneſs, mercy, juſtice, power, &c. which were only diſcernible by the inſhinings of this divine light of the word of God. And ſince he alludes ſo ſtrictly in his inſtances from the creation and natural philoſophy, I hope he will allow me to ſay, that as the *eye* of man, though never

ſo capable of ſeeing, cannot ſee any object before it in the dark, unleſs an outward light give it the ſight thereof; ſo no man's *ſoul* can ſee divine objects, though its eye, or ſeeing faculty, were ever ſo capable, unleſs the divine light ſhined *in* it, to give unto it the knowledge of the glory of God therein. And I have not only my own experience, but that of *good* men in all ages of the world, according to the degree of the manifeſtation of the divine light, wherein they agree, and cannot err: humility, obedience, love, patience, meekneſs, purity, charity, &c. are ſenſibly wrought in men by this divine principle. *Senſibly*, I ſay, for all his "*Inſenſible dogmas*," pag. 37, 38, 39. as that man is not ſenſible of the divine agency, or inſpiration of the Almighty. 'For we know,' ſays he, 'by *reaſoning*; but not by *ſenſe* or *conſcience*:' abuſing that ſcripture to countenance his inſenſible aſſertion, "The "wind bloweth where it liſteth, and we hear the "ſound thereof, but know not whence it comes, nor "whither it goes;" which is not ſpoken of the *regenerate* man's not knowing *how* he is regenerated, but that *other* men know it not with all their wiſdom and knowledge, that are not ſpiritually illuminated and experienced in the ſame work: anſwerable to that place in the Revelations of John, "That he that over-"comes, ſhall have a white ſtone, and a new name, "that none ſhall know but he that *has it*;" that is, but ſuch conquerors: for they that are overcome of the world, can never taſte or judge of the rewards of thoſe that do overcome it.

And very ſorry I am for this oppoſer, that he allows man no ſpiritual ſenſes, or that which anſwers to our outward ſenſes; and if he does, ſurely they are to ſee, hear, ſmell, taſte, and feel ſomething elſe than *himſelf*. How groſs, then, is his poſition, p. 37. 'But this I 'may ſay, that neither is the illuminating, or renew-'ing, or regenerating, or any other divine inſpiration, 'immediately perceptible to any ſenſe, inward or out-'ward, in human nature; and if ſo, it is certain none 'of theſe can be a light within us.' But why it is

not

not ſo, he has not told us; he *cannot* tell us, nor any man elſe. To all which I ſhall oppoſe a few ſcriptures, and then attend his abuſe of thoſe I cited in my KEY, and me, for the application of them.

That there is *another* light and ſpirit that attend men, than the 'Effects of the *perceptive faculties* of 'their *own minds*,' as this man calls it, I urge that paſſage in Geneſis vi. 3. "My Spirit ſhall not always "ſtrive with men." A plain proof that God ſtrove with the old world by his Holy Spirit; which could not be, if they had it *not*, or were *unſenſible* of any ſuch thing. Nehemiah ix. 20. it is ſaid, that "God "gave them his good Spirit, but they rebelled againſt "it;" therefore they *had* it. David prays that God "would not take his Holy Spirit from him;" which ſhews it was *with* him, and that not as a prophet, but ordinarily ſpeaking; for his tranſgreſſion was too heinous for that dignity, without a courſe of repentance, and a reſtoration to his former ſtate, which in the ſame pſalm he prays for: but it is evident, as bad as he was, he had yet the holy Spirit in *that* ſenſe, in which we aſſert a "meaſure of it is to be given to *all* to "profit with," as the apoſtle ſpeaks, 1 Cor. xii. 7. Elſe he could not have ſaid, "And take not thy holy "Spirit from me;" as much as to ſay, 'For if thou 'doſt utterly deprive me of it, I ſhall grow dark, 'hard and impenitent, and be undone for ever.'

The Lord, by the prophet Iſaiah, proves, that his Spirit ſhould ſucceſſively attend his people: theſe are his words: "And as for me, this is my covenant with "them, ſaith the Lord; My Spirit that is upon thee "*(Chriſt)* and my words which I have put in thy "mouth, ſhall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out "of the mouth of thy ſeed's ſeed, ſaith the Lord, "from henceforth and for ever," chap. lix. 21. And, I pray, who are Chriſt's ſeed and offspring, but true Chriſtians? And, as ſuch, they are entitled to this promiſe, and therefore have the Spirit of God, and the freſh and living revelation of it, whoſe words are "ſpirit and life."

Thus the prophet, chap. xliv. 3. "I will pour wa-
"ter upon him that is thirſty, and floods upon the
"dry ground: I will pour my *Spirit* upon thy *ſeed*,
"and my bleſſing upon thine offſpring." A moſt ample and cloſe proof to my point, that God gives his *Spirit* to men, and that there is *ſomething more* than the light of reading and hearing of men and books, or the *perceptive faculty* of the mind, to *inſtruct* men: and that, not only in extraordinary caſes, and on ſingular and eminent occaſions, (which our opponent allows, as to *Moſes*, the *prophets*, and *apoſtles*) but ordinarily, commonly, ſucceſſively: for to that the text plainly reaches.

The prophet Joel is yet more comprehenſive, ch. ii. 28. "And it ſhall come to paſs afterwards, that I will
"pour out my Spirit upon *all fleſh*;" young and old, hand-maids and ſervants: no age, no ſex, no degree ſhall be exempted. The apoſtle Peter applied this very text to the dawning of the primitive Chriſtian days, as then begun to be accompliſhed, Acts ii. 17. Not that that which befel the apoſtles and diſciples of Jeſus in that time, was the *complete* anſwering of that prophecy, for that was not *all fleſh*. Beſides, the very ſame apoſtle, in the ſame ſermon, ver. 39, tells his auditors, that were made up of no leſs than fourteen ſeveral nations, "That the promiſe was to *them* and
"to their *children*, and to all that were *afar off*, whom
"the Lord ſhould call:" ſo that the gifts of the Spirit were the fulfilling of the goſpel-promiſe, and conſequently the great goſpel-privilege and qualification.

The apoſtle Paul tells us, Rom. viii. that there is an abſolute neceſſity that people ſhould have the Spirit of God *dwelling* in them, and that they ſhould be *led* and *conducted* by it, or they cannot be the children of God. Ver. 1. "There is no condemnation to
"them that are in Chriſt Jeſus, who walk not after
"the fleſh, but after the Spirit." Here it is the Chriſtian *rule*.

Again,

Again, ver. 12. "But if the Spirit of him that "raiſed Jeſus from the dead, *dwell in you*, he that "raiſed up Chriſt from the dead, ſhall alſo quicken "your mortal bodies, by his Spirit, that *dwelleth in* "*you:*" ſo that the indwelling of the Spirit did quicken and comfort the ancient Chriſtians, and was apoſtolical doctrine.

Again, ver. 14, 15, 16. "For as many as are *led* "by the Spirit of God, they are the *ſons* of God;" which they cannot be, if they have it *not:* "For ye "have not received the ſpirit of bondage again to "fear, but the ſpirit of adoption, whereby we cry "Abba, Father. The Spirit *itſelf* beareth witneſs with "*our* ſpirit, that we are the children of God:" ſo that it is plain they *had* the Spirit. And I wonder what witneſs Chriſtians muſt have *now*, that they are the children of God, if not the *ſame* Spirit; ſince, if this adverſary ſay true, there is no ſuch gift common to Chriſtians now, but only the '*Notices* God has given 'to all, of his thoughts and mind, by *creation* and '*ſcripture.*' But, alas! too apparent it is that this man knows little of the workings of God's Spirit, that ſo unſpiritually ſpeaks of it. Did not our bleſſed Lord ſay, John iii. 5. "That unleſs man be born "of the Spirit, he could not enter into the kingdom "of God?" Was this only for the primitive times? Then men ever ſince have not been *ſaveable*, for they have wanted the *means* of ſalvation, to wit, REGENERATION. And if regeneration be neceſſary to all, how can a man be rationally ſaid to be *born* of the Spirit, and not to *have* the Spirit he is *born of*; or be (as Peter phraſeth it) a *partaker* of the DIVINE *nature*, 2 Pet. i. 4. But more than this, Chriſt told his diſciples, that the *Spirit of Truth* he would ſend them, though it ſhould be a *comforter* to them that believed in him, and followed him, yet it ſhould *reprove* the *world* of ſin; which could not be, if the world had not ſuch a meaſure of the Spirit, as to *reprove* them in their evil-doing. And, indeed, all that will be ſerious and reflect, muſt confeſs, from experience, they

have enough of it to reprove them for that which is evil, and to bear a true and faithful witneſs againſt every evil way.

Memorable is that ſecond chapter of the apoſtle, in his firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, (a worldly-wiſe people, whoſe faculties were as perceptive as our opponents, I doubt not) concerning the office, efficacy, and neceſſity of the Holy Spirit, to know God, and our duty to him, in order to ſalvation.

And what has been ſaid of the HOLY SPIRIT, may be ſaid of the DIVINE LIGHT, as one of the earlieſt books in ſcripture tells us, Job xxiv. 13. "They "are of thoſe," ſays Job, ſpeaking of the wicked, "that *rebel* againſt the *Light*." Then they *had* it: and if *they* had it, *all* had it; for, to be ſure, the *righteous* were not without it.

Again, "The ſpirit of man is the candle of the "Lord," Prov. xx. 27. But it muſt be *lighted* by that light we ſpeak of, or it is a *dark* candle. Now God lights the candle of the wicked; much more is he the light of the candle of the righteous.

Again, he ſays, "How often is the candle of the "wicked *put out!*" Job xxi. 17. Prov. xiii. 9. Which ſhews it is often *lighted*; and if *they* have the light, the *righteous*, to be ſure, are not without it: for, "The way of the juſt is a ſhining *light*, which ſhines "more and more to the perfect day." Obedience to light received, *increaſes* light. Now, if the way of the juſt be a ſhining light, to be ſure the light is ſaving, or is the way to ſalvation: and ſo the beloved diſciple has it, Revel. xxi. "The nations of them "that are ſaved ſhall walk in the light."

David ſays alſo, in proof of our point, "The LORD "is my light and my ſalvation," Pſalm xxvii. 1. Then he had an higher and clearer light than his own *perceptive faculties*.

Again, "Thy WORD is a light to my feet, and a "lanthorn to my paths," Pſal. cxix. 105. Which was an inward and ſpiritual word; for it was ſuch an one

as

as he could *find* in his *heart*, according to Moſes, Deut. iii. and the apoſtle, Rom. x.

David alſo, Pſal. xlii. prayed, that the Lord would "ſend forth his *light* and his *truth*," which were the ſame thing, "that it might lead and bring people to "his holy hill and tabernacle." This was *more* than *man*, or what was of man's conſtitution or compoſition: more than the perceptive faculties of the mind.

Moreover, God declared by the prophet Iſaiah, That he had given "CHRIST for a light to lighten "the Gentiles;" which was more than man's *wit* or *underſtanding*, to be ſure. And though Chriſt was a *light* in his *doctrine*, *miracles*, and *example*, yet he was, and is, a light *within* alſo, to enlighten the *mind*, as John i. 4. 9. with many more, before obſerved. And this light and ſpirit are of the ſame *principle*, or the ſame *principle* that is both ſpirit and light; though, it may be, ſtrictly ſpeaking, not both in one and the ſame *act* or *operation*, as has been already noted. Nevertheleſs, the ſcripture makes them to have one operation, comparing John xvi. 7. with Eph. v. 13. For the firſt makes it the office of the *Spirit* to "*convince* "the world of *ſin*;" and the latter place tells us, "That whatever is *reproved* is made manifeſt by the "*light*:" and the apoſtle gives this for the reaſon, "becauſe," ſays he, "whatever makes *manifeſt* is "*light*:" an aſſertion that can never be denied. And as true it is, that it muſt be a divine light, that reveals divine truths. And becauſe it is neceſſary that all ſhould *know* them, for their ſalvation, (ſince God would have all come to the knowledge of the truth, and be ſaved) the conſequence muſt be good, that all *have* this divine light, more, or leſs, for ſalvation, though all do not obey it.

I might proceed to enumerate ſcriptures through the prophets, evangeliſts, and epiſtles; but I think what I have ſaid is a double portion: and therefore I recommend it to the candid reader's ſerious peruſal and obſervation; and I doubt not but he will diſcern the verity and charity of our principles, and the unjuſt exceptions of our opponent to them.

I come next to conſider his cavils againſt our citation of ſcripture, and indeed againſt the ſcripture itſelf, which will not be hard to evince.

Page 41. He is angry, becauſe I ſay that Chriſt has enlightened men with his *own* light; calls this very hard names; and ſays, 'It is the Quakers Apo-'crypha:' but we abide by it; and are taught ſo to do by the ſcriptures, that he would have the world believe we deny, and make apocryphal. John i. 4. "In him *(Chriſt)* was life, and the life the light of "men." Now if this be not *man*'s light, and if this light, which is the life of the *word*, be not the *light* of the word, let me be blamed: if it be, how prepoſterous muſt this man be, to uſe me ſo harſhly for a truth ſo plain as well as important?

The next ſcripture is that in Prov. xx. 27. "The "ſpirit of man is the candle of the Lord, ſearching "all the inward parts of the belly."—'That is,' ſays he, 'the ſpirit of man, which God hath made, hath, 'in its nature, a conſciouſneſs of all his thoughts, 'purpoſes, and counſels within him.' But this word conſciouſneſs ſuppoſes a knowledge, together with *ſomething elſe*, that *gives* us that knowledge: it is the very import of the words: and what is that, but that divine light which gives *light* to the candle? For a candle cannot light *itſelf*; and, by the repetition of ſin, is ſaid to be often *blown out*. For though it cannot blow that *light* out, it blows out its *enlightenings*. Thus ſin quenches the Spirit; that is, the *enlivenings* and *quickenings* of it; for the Spirit ITSELF cannot be quenched. Now this note of his is ſo far from overthrowing our uſe of this ſcripture, that it eſtabliſhes it, and defeats him of the end he propoſed in oppoſing us.

Thus he abuſes us, and that paſſage of our Saviour Chriſt, "If the light that is in you be darkneſs, how "great is that darkneſs!" as if Chriſt meant any light but that of man's *miſtake* and *preſumption*; or that we could aſſert GOD to be that light in us, which Chriſt ſaid might be *darkneſs*: for this man ſays, 'If the 'light

'light in us, here mentioned, was the light that is 'good, the ſuppoſal that it might poſſibly be darkneſs, 'would be a blaſphemous ſuppoſition.' He is to be pitied, as well as reproved, that can rave after this manner.

The uſe I make of that ſcripture, 2 Cor. iv. 6. "God, that commanded the light to ſhine out of "darkneſs, hath ſhined in our hearts, to give the "light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in "the face of Jeſus Chriſt;" was thus: 'That God 'had lighted the *hearts* of men, by breaking through 'the darkneſs there, with his divine light.' This author, p. 43. limits this light to the apoſtles and fellow-labourers; and all the reſt are to ſee with *their* eyes, and without that divine light in themſelves: in fine, to be concluded by their authority, and not their own conviction; for what he ſays centers there. Whereas the apoſtle's miſſion and buſineſs, was "to "turn people from the *darkneſs* (that was in them-"ſelves) to the *light*," that had ſhined there uncomprehended: alſo to be made manifeſt, in their preaching, to the *conſciences* of people; which could not be, in divine truths, without a divine *light*. I muſt leave this way of our opponent's treating of ſcripture to my reader's conſideration.

Page 45 to 57. His next abuſe is, that of John i. 9. about which he beſtows room for reaſon, being no leſs than twelve pages. He that can make more of them than theſe three following heads, has a better underſtanding than mine.

1. 'That the life that is come by Chriſt is, that we 'ſhall *out-live* the *grave*:' not, that the ſoul is made ſpiritually alive to God, while in this world, by divine quickenings, to the uſe of her ſpiritual ſenſations, that ſin had taken away, by bringing her under a ſpiritual lethargy or death: which, how agreeable it is to that ſaying of Chriſt, John viii. 12. "That they that follow him ſhould have the light of "life;" and, John vi. "Unleſs you eat my fleſh,

"and

" and drink my blood, you have no life in you," (which implies an inward and living ſtate of the mind towards God on this ſide the grave) I muſt alſo leave with my conſiderate reader, that has any reliſh or taſte of divine things.

2. The ſecond thing he objects upon our uſe of this ſcripture, (John i. 9.) is our making " *coming into* " the *world*" to refer to *man*, and not to *Chriſt*; ' which,' ſays he, ' is firſt a redundancy of ſpeech; ' and next, *dangerous*: for it is as if a man came from ' *another* world into *this*.' Now I would have this critick know, if he can be ignorant of it, that divers learned Proteſtant commentators have taken that way, as have ſome of the fathers, and all the tranſlators that I can compaſs, be it into the Latin verſions, or our vulgar European tongues; as my reader may pleaſe to ſee at large, in a book of mine, called, *The Spirit of Truth Vindicated*, from p. 52 to p. 62. So that he muſt allow we are in good company, if miſtaken; ſince ſo many criticks and commentators are with us; as ſingular and erroneous as he is pleaſed to repreſent us. But where is the *redundancy*? Why, it is, ' that *every man* would have ſerved, without the ' words *coming into the world*, which follow them.' No wonder he is ſo churliſh to *our* writings, that affords the *holy ſcripture* no more reſpect. If he will read ſeveral chapters of that beloved diſciple's writings, and, indeed, of many other of the holy penmen's, he may, if he pleaſe, make the like exceptions. Thus that ſaying of Job, uſed in the liturgy, in the office for the dead, " *Man that is born of a woman*," &c. for, according to this critick's learning, *man* had been enough; and the addition, *that is born of a woman*, dangerous; for that it implies there are men that are *not born* of women: which, I think, would not mightily recommend his ſkill or judgment; as his exception cannot juſtly impeach the propriety of the holy ſcriptures. And if this adverſary did believe that Chriſt *made* man, he would believe he *enlightens* him, as well as made him; and that the firſt ten verſes of that

chapter

chapter refer to his *divinity:* what he was in *himſelf*, and what he was and is to *man*, as the *Word God*, by whom the whole world was made, and man, in an excellent manner, *enlightened*; and this before any mention is made of his taking fleſh, or coming of the ſeed of Abraham.

3. But he would have *lighteth* limited to Chriſt's coming in the *fleſh*, and that all were enlightened *then* by him: now, I will not ſay, he was not a glorious *light* in his miniſtry and miracles, in his life and ſufferings; for if his *diſciples* were by him called the "*Lights of* "*the world*," doubtleſs it may be better ſaid of him, their Lord and original, that *he* was the *light* of the world. But this hinders not that he ſhould be the light of the world in a more proper and *immediate* manner, by his ſhining in the *underſtandings* of men, and giving them thereby the knowledge of their duty to God, and one to another. I muſt refer him to what I have ſaid in my former book upon this head alſo; in anſwer to one that denied the pre-exiſtence of Chriſt, or that he had a being before he was born of the virgin *Mary*; in whoſe ſteps this man ſeems to tread. If he will read from page 62 to 86, and the reaſons and numerous authorities, theſe may, perhaps, perſuade him that the 9th verſe of the firſt of John, wholly relates to the *word* before he took fleſh, and as he is the *immediate* enlightener of the ſouls of men. "In him was life, "and the life the light of men," verſe 4. This was neither ſun, moon, nor ſtars; nor yet the effect of the *perceptive faculties* of our *ſouls*, nor yet any *outward* and *miniſterial* light whatever; of all which I leave the ſober reader to judge.

Page 52, 53. As for the groſs abſurdity that he would run us into, of being *Be-Godded* and *Be-Chriſted*, according to our principle, he has ſhewn ſufficiently he does not underſtand it; and therefore no matter for his wild conſequences, by which he would diſgrace it: but if by being Be-Chriſted, we are to underſtand *divine kindred* and *memberſhip*, through *true Chriſtening*, which

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is the *anointing*, 1 John ii. 20, 27. we ſhall not ſhrink from the word, becauſe of his out-cries at us for it. I have already declared what we intend by being enlightened; and that our principle is not capable of any of the wild inferences, this man, through great ignorance or malice, charges upon it. But before I leave this head, I muſt obſerve one diſtinction of his, page 54, 55, 56. that, to himſelf, doubtleſs, looks very apt and determining, viz. 'That we are not enlightened 'by what God *is*, but what God *does*.' This is upon my ſaying, "That God enlightens men with his *own* "light;" calling me all to naught for that phraſe, as unſcriptural, and of a meditated temperament, to amuſe my readers with: rendering the light, which we ſay true Chriſtians ought to walk by, to be no otherwiſe God's *own* light, than the ſun and the rain are his *own* ſun and rain: not of his *nature*, but of his *creation* only: that I take to be his meaning, a little plainer than he has expreſſed it. To which I reply, in that famous and ſuitable text of the beloved diſciple, 1 John i. 5, 6, 7. "This, then, is the meſſage which we have heard of "him, and declare unto you, *That God is light*, and "in him is no darkneſs at all: if we ſay that we have "fellowſhip with him, and walk in darkneſs, we lie "and do not the truth: but if we walk in the light, "as he is *in* the light, we have fellowſhip one with "another, and the blood of Jeſus Chriſt his Son "cleanſeth us from all ſin." Here I leave him to conſider of this *light*; whether it be a *created* one; ſuch an one, as is not what God *is*, but what God *does*; and ſhall attend his perverſion of my preſent uſe, and our common ſenſe, of ſeveral ſcriptures, cited in favour of our *inward principle:* and then ſhall conclude my reply to his pretended anſwer to that part of my KEY, which relates to the light within.

That I may make the point plainer to the reader, I ſhall firſt lay down the *perverſion* mentioned in my KEY, then our *principle* upon it, with thoſe ſcriptures he takes occaſion to twiſt and turn from our true ſenſe and end in citing them, and of which he is ſo conſcious to himſelf,

himſelf, that, to anticipate my reply, he gives it *for* me, as I ſhall anon obſerve, and not a great way from our true ſenſe.

Perverſ. 'The *Quakers* hold, That the *light* within 'them is *God*, *Chriſt*, and the *Holy Spirit*: ſo that every 'Quaker has *whole God*, *Chriſt*, and *Holy Spirit* in him; 'which is groſs blaſphemy.' KEY, p. 2, 3.

By this my reader will ſee what we except againſt, viz. The blaſphemy of making every *Quaker* comprehend *whole God* and *Chriſt*, and *Holy Spirit* in him.

Now I muſt deſire him to obſerve what our *principle* ſays to this ſuggeſtion.

Principle. 'This is alſo a miſtake of their belief: 'they never ſaid, That every *divine illumination* or *manifeſtation* of Chriſt, in the hearts of men, was *whole* 'God, *Chriſt*, or the *Spirit*; whereby to be guilty of 'that groſs and blaſphemous abſurdity, ſome would 'faſten upon them: but that *God*, who is *light*, or the '*Word-Chriſt*, who is *light*, the *quickening ſpirit*, and 'God over all, bleſſed for ever, hath *enlightened* 'mankind with a *meaſure* of *ſaving light*: ſo that the '*illumination* is from *Chriſt*, the *divine word*; but not 'therefore *whole* God or Chriſt in *every man*, any more 'than the *whole ſun* or *air* is in *every houſe* or *chamber*. 'There are no ſuch harſh and unſcriptural words in 'their writings: it is only a frightful perverſion of 'ſome of their enemies, to bring a ſcandal upon their 'holy faith. Yet, *in a ſenſe*, the ſcriptures ſay it, 'and that is their (the Quakers) ſenſe, in which they 'only ſay the ſame thing.' "He that is *with* you ſhall "be *in* you: I will not leave you comfortleſs, I will "come to you: I in *them*, and they in *us*: Chriſt in "us, the hope of glory: unleſs Chriſt be *in* you, ye "are reprobates. Little children, of whom I travail "in birth again, until Chriſt be formed *in* you."

This is my explanation of our principle about the light, from the perverſions of our adverſaries: by which the uncandid dealing of this man muſt be very obvious; ſince, beſides his ſilence, and that he ſeems

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to ſhut his eyes to our explanation and vindication of what we hold, from what he charges, he doubles the perverſions, by changing and miſgiving the end for which the ſcriptures were cited by me: for he makes us to quote them to prove what we expreſly deny, as a falſe charge upon us; and carries them at leaſt beyond, if not againſt, the intent and reaſon of their quotations, which he knows deſerves a black name, ſince they were never quoted to prove *whole God* and Chriſt to be in *every man*, or to be *ſo* in *any* man: but that God, Chriſt, and the Spirit, were, in ſome near manner, in the people of God. For the very perverſion runs it no farther than the people called *Quakers*; that every one of us are ſuggeſted to have whole God, and whole Chriſt, and the Spirit in us: which is to improve, as I ſaid before, upon the very perverſion.

Hear him, page 58. 'Chriſt ſays not here, that any 'man, except his *diſciples*, ſhall have him *in* them; 'that Chriſt is in *none*, but thoſe that are in *him*; that 'he is not in reprobates, ſo not in *every* man; that he 'was not in the Galatians; that they muſt be *new* 'creatures that have him; ſo all againſt *W. P*'s pur-'poſe." But what *was* my purpoſe, I pray? Hear the KEY again.

"Yet, *in a ſenſe*, the ſcriptures ſay it, and that is "*their* (the Quakers) ſenſe, in which they only ſay "the ſame thing." What fair or wiſe adverſary would have been guilty of ſo ill a thing, and ſo eaſily to be detected? Is any thing plainer than, Firſt, That *every Quaker*, and not *every man*, is in the perverſion? Secondly, That I deny, in the name of that people, any ſuch blaſphemous principle, as that *every Quaker* has *whole God in him*, but much the contrary; explaining our principle, of which he takes no notice. Thirdly, That yet we own God, Chriſt, and Holy Spirit, to be in the people called Quakers; but that it is according to a *ſenſe*: in what ſenſe do I ſay it? Why, the ſenſe in which the *ſcriptures* ſay it.

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Now, reader, judge thou, and not I, what to call this man, that with ſo much falſehood obtrudes upon us the untrueſt things and unworthieſt abuſes for the principles of the people called Quakers. And to ſhew him to himſelf yet more plainly, he has provided me with the means of doing it, which I touched upon before, viz. 'That the Quakers uſe to ſay, None but *be-* 'lievers have Chriſt in *union*, but *all others* have Chriſt 'in them.' Which, at leaſt, gives away the point: for if Chriſt be, in ſome ſenſe or other, in *every* man, yet he is not ſaid by me, in the foregoing ſcriptures, to be in any but believers. And he makes too bold with us alſo, in ſaying, in our name, 'That *Chriſt* is in all 'men;' for we chuſe rather to expreſs ourſelves otherwiſe, as, 'That a *manifeſtation* of Chriſt is in every 'man,' or 'That the *light* of Chriſt is within every 'man:' and in ſo ſaying, I have, by many plain ſcriptures, proved, that we ſpeak but the truth, and that which is every man's bleſſing: and it were well all would prize it, and live up to it. For that is the *gift* of *God* to men for their ſalvation, and the *convictions* of it the day of their *viſitation*; and though tradition, form, and formality, in many countries, as well as wickedneſs, have darkened the underſtandings of people, ſo that they ſeem more ſolicitous about their forms, than zealouſly obedient to this divine principle; yet there is none without a ſenſe of the reproofs and convictions of it, more or leſs, at one time or other: which cannot be, without *light*; ſince all that is *reproved* is made *manifeſt* by the *light*, Epheſ. v. 13. But before I cloſe this ſubject, I muſt touch upon his interpretation of ſome of thoſe texts before cited, p. 58, 59.

He ſays this paſſage of the apoſtle's, "Chriſt in us, "the hope of glory," is againſt me: becauſe it was only to *believers* that he wrote. Grant it; yet why may not Chriſt be a *condemner* in the conſciences of the *wicked*, as well as the *hope* of *glory* in *believers*? However, it is not againſt me, ſince I cited it only to ſhew the enjoyment of believers: and ſince he allows *Chriſt*

to

to be in believers, I hope his *light* and *ſpirit* are there with him; which is more than the effects of the perceptive powers of their ſouls, or outward miniſterial help in the buſineſs of religion, a thing he has ſo often denied to any but the holy penmen, and here and there an extraordinary perſon, that has had the power of miracles, to confirm the truth of their inſpiration: "For if he has given us his *Son*, how much more "with him ſhall he give us *all* things?" So that our adverſary has herein granted, what he has ſo often denied and oppoſed.

The like in that paſſage of the apoſtle to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. xiii. 15. "Unleſs Chriſt be in you, you "are reprobates."—'This,' ſays he, 'proves, no 'reprobates have Chriſt in them: how, then, is Chriſt 'in *every* man, if he be in none of *theſe?*' But then, ſay I, he is in all *but* reprobates, by this man's conceſſion: and we can ſay no more. For if by reprobates we are to underſtand a *Judas*'s ſtate; a *ſeared* conſcience; one that has abſolutely *crucified* to himſelf afreſh the Lord of life and glory, and has ſinned the ſin againſt the *Holy Ghoſt*; in ſhort, an *apoſtate*, or an *obſtinate oppoſer*, and *perverter* of the right way of the Lord; then, I ſay, our principle of Chriſt being, in ſome ſenſe, in *every* man (viz. as a *light* lightening *every* man) receives no diſadvantage from his objection: for therefore *reprobates* have not *Chriſt*, becauſe they have *finally blown out* the candle, *extinguiſhed* conſcience, and are become *dead* to all ſenſe of religion; which is, becauſe they have out-lived the day of God's love and mercy to them: they *would not* be gathered; they would have none of him; they would not have this man to reign over them. But then, *all others*, by this text, and this man's arguing from it, *have* Chriſt in them; and ſo it makes greatly for us, ſince it plainly concludes, 'That if all that *have not* Chriſt in them are 'reprobates, then thoſe that are *not* reprobates *have* 'Chriſt in them: but ſuch is *every man* that cometh 'into the world; therefore, *every man* that cometh 'into the world, *hath* Chriſt in him:' for, to be ſure,

men

men come not *reprobates* into the world. They have a day of grace; God calls; his Spirit ſtrives; his long-ſuffering waiteth, as in the days of Noah, for their repentance. And this is that which will give the greateſt weight in the ſcale againſt the rebellious, at the great judgment, that they had a *talent*; a *ſeed* was ſown; *grace* did appear; and *all had light*, but ſuch loved darkneſs rather than light, becauſe their deeds were evil.

The laſt ſcripture he would turn upon us, is that in the Galatians; "My little children, of whom I travel in birth again until Chriſt be formed in you:" upon which he ſays, 'The perſons ſpoken to *then*, had not 'Chriſt in them.' Thus does this man walk in a circle, and contradict himſelf. One time, all but *reprobates* have Chriſt; another while, the Galatians, though *not* reprobates, had him not. But when he conſiders, that there is a great difference between a *ſeed* and an *ear*, a *plant* and a *tree*, he may better underſtand the apoſtle, and what he now ſays. For the poor man, after ſo often allowing Chriſt to be in the people of God, ſays, pag. 59. 'But neither in *believers* is Chriſt a *light* 'within.' I wonder, then, *what* he is there, ſince he is the *light* of the *world*, John i. 4, 9. and that *true light* that lighteth *every* man that cometh into the *world*; and yet not to be a *light* within man, though he *be* within man, is ſurprizing. I ſhall leave it with my reader, to do our principle juſtice; and I hope he will find reaſon to think I have aſſerted no *errors*, nor *prevaricated* with my friends, nor *loſt* my point, nor acted with *leger-de-main*, or *meditated temperament*, to deceive; and that all the *wards* of my KEY, after his many ſtrainings, wreſtings, and forcings, keep their places, and anſwer the end for which the KEY was firſt made, viz. 'To open, to every common underſtand-'ing, the difference between the principles of the 'people called Quakers, and the perverſions and miſ-'repreſentations of their enemies:' wiſhing this adverſary, for all his ſcoffs, ſcurrility, and abuſe upon us and our religion, repentance to ſalvation.

His Exceptions *to our* Refuſal *of* Oaths, *and his* Arguments *for them*, conſidered.

PAGE 62. 'To their (the *Quakers*) ſcruple about 'Oaths, I ſhall only hint theſe few thoughts: be- 'cauſe *true ſpeaking* is not only a part of *honeſty*, but 'religion; therefore not only honeſty, but religion, is 'engaged, with its full force, to ſupport itſelf: but 'if a man engage *all* his *religion* for the ſupport of a 'true *ſpeech*, he takes an *oath*.'

If this be true arguing, then we *ſwear* as often as we ſay *Yea* and *Nay* in evidence; ſince we acknowledge we ſtake the credit of our religion and conſcience for the verity of it; and then, methinks, there needs no diſpute in the matter: for it is certain we *do*, and that ſwearers can do no more: and ſince that is our principle, it is as binding on us, as ſwearing is upon thoſe that give themſelves the liberty of ſwearing. But pray let us hear what follows.

'I ſhall not,' ſays he, 'inſiſt upon the nature of an 'oath, but conſider its place in the *political* ſtate of 'Chriſt's kingdom.'

If he will not inſiſt upon the nature of an oath, I have no reaſon to inſiſt upon the uſe or diſuſe of it at this time; ſince here it is an argument upon an *individuum vagum*; a nothing. He ſhould firſt have aſcertained us, what an oath *is*; and when that had been adjuſted and ſettled, then he ſhould have proved ſuch an oath *lawful*, and us unreaſonable for refuſing it upon all accounts. However, I will both obſerve, and anſwer, his notions of it.

Firſt, he ſays, 'He cannot underſtand how ſwearing 'can be wholly *put down*, where people may ſwear by 'law, as in England.' True, unleſs that law be repealed, that requires it. But it is a great bull to ſay, That they who *make* a law cannot *repeal* it. If the legiſlative power is pleaſed to make *yea* and *nay* have the force and acceptance of an *oath*, they may have it in *any* government; and that is what the people called Quakers

Quakers deſire in *this*, for all of their communion: and to ſhew him how much he is miſtaken, the higheſt judicature in England ſits upon *honour*, and not *oaths*, viz. The *houſe* of *lords*: ſo commiſſioners of *oyer* and *terminer*, that judge life, are rarely, if ever, upon *oath*. So that I have herein anſwered his queſtion, pag. 63. 'If an order againſt all ſwearing were not, Ipſo 'Jure, *void*.' He carries it higher than any body ever did, that I have met with. It is, with him, the great hinge or axle-tree upon which religion turns; and explodes my reaſon as falſe, that I gave for the riſe of oaths, viz. Want of faith, either in him that ſwears, or in him to whom the oath is ſworn.

'For,' ſays he, 'God the *Father* ſwears to the *Son*, 'Heb. vii. where there is infinite *faithfulneſs* on *both* 'ſides.'

But to this I ſay, That, ſtrictly ſpeaking, God cannot be ſaid to ſwear; for he that ſwears, ſwears by the greater, Heb. vi. 16. So that it is called *ſwearing*, that it might ſtrike unbelieving man with the greater aſſurance of God's *love* to him. And though there was infinite faithfulneſs between God and Chriſt, yet it referring to *man*, it is termed an *oath*, to heighten and augment man's *credit* and *confidence* in God, as to the means of his ſalvation; and not that God did properly ſwear, or can do ſo.

But he tells us, 'That Chriſt anſwered upon *adjura*-'*tion* before a *judge*, which is the way of ſwearing in 'our Engliſh courts.'

I cannot allow it, ſince he does not prove that Chriſt ſwore in his anſwer; for all he ſaid was, "Thou haſt "*ſaid*," Mat. xxvi. 63. Now that is putting it *back* to the high prieſt; as if he had ſaid, 'What need I 'anſwer that upon oath, which thou thyſelf *ſayeſt*? 'Doſt thou firſt *accuſe* me, and then query to confirm 'it? Thou haſt *ſaid*.' But next, if it be ſaid, 'That 'it was an anſwer uſual, and the propriety or pecu-'liarity of that language ſo to ſpeak,' he ſhould have proved it: for, as the words are in the ſcripture, there appears no oath in them: but if it were as he ſays,

(which I cannot grant) yet it concludes nothing againſt us; for as he was in the ſtate of a ſervant, a *Jew* of the *Jews*, made and born under the *law*, Gal. iv. 4. he was to fulfil the *righteouſneſs* of it, and ſo might act as a *Jew*; as he did in the inſtance of circumciſion, the paſſover, &c. Yet after his reſurrection, we hear nothing of an oath, any more in example than in doctrine; which, with all other cuſtoms of the Jews, that, in old time were practiſed, was, as it were, left with the grave-clothes behind; and he aſcended in his evangelical righteouſneſs and glory, triumphing over principalities and powers, and vanquiſhing hell, death, and the grave, and brought in a better hope, ſanctuary, and tabernacle, where *yea* and *nay* ſucceeded, and ſuperſeded all oaths. So that the very baſis this man builds upon is unſound, and his premiſes precarious. How, then, can he build well, or conclude rightly againſt us? But he ſays, "The *angels* ſwear;" which, I conceive, is more than he knows; for no body can think, by his writings, he is very converſant with *good* angels. However, I grant that the angels *have* ſworn; but that is no reaſon to continue oaths among *men*, if Chriſt, the bleſſed author of the Chriſtian religion, hath *forbid* them: for the angels, as well as men, muſt worſhip *him*, Heb. i. 6. and therefore *Chriſt* and not the *angels*, are to be followed by *us*: but whenever an angel hath ſworn, it hath been in condeſcenſion to the incredulity and diffidence of man, and to heighten his credit of the mind and will of God; and is therefore an inſtance *for* us, becauſe it refers to a low and imperfect ſtate, propoſed as an expedient and remedy againſt untruth; which is out of the queſtion; truth leaving *no* room for ſwearing; which, in its nature, is but a terrifying of the mind into true ſpeaking; as, in ſome countries, in default of evidence, they uſe racks, to extort confeſſions from the ſuſpected parties: an inſtance of which we have near us, in the *Scotch boots* and *thummikins*.

He alleges alſo, 'That the *apoſtles* ſwore: but he has not mentioned any one of them, nor any place: how-

however, that I may not leave *my* reader as much in the dark as he has done *his*, I refer him to my book intitled, "The Spirit of Truth Vindicated," from page 86, to page 91, where he may ſee how much ſofter tranſlations may be given of the apoſtle's expreſſions, than that of our vulgar verſion. Nevertheleſs, thoſe extraordinary ways of ſpeaking were in extraordinary caſes, and cannot be a rule to others, but under the ſame circumſtances and authority: and till this author has given us an authentick definition of an oath, he cannot juſtly call the apoſtle's expreſſions *oaths*, or proofs of oaths; unleſs he will allow that binding any affirmation, or negation, by the name of the Lord, is an oath: but, if that were the caſe, it differs mightily, to uſe the name of the Lord to inforce the verity of divine things, and to make it a witneſs and voucher for us in our low and temporal affairs: a diſtinction as old as ſome of the moſt eminent fathers of the primitive ages of the church.

But he adds, 'That all Chriſtians take *ſacramental* 'oaths:' which is not true in fact; for, among the *Proteſtants* of the *Low Countries*, there is a great people, who, in any caſe, will not *ſwear*, as well as we; and yet we know no other name, blood, power, and ſpirit by which we can be ſaved, than that of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Again, many of the followers of *John Wickliff*, would not *ſwear* in *any* caſe; and divers alſo of our *Engliſh martyrs* refuſed to *ſwear*, upon the ſame principle. And if this man will call to mind, he may remember, that ſome of the beſt of the *ancient fathers* were of the ſame judgment, believing it unlawful for a Chriſtian man to take an oath; which in my "Trea-"tiſe of Oaths" may be ſeen at large.

Now, for what he alleges, Why Chriſt's prohibition, Mat. v. doth not extend to *all* oaths, I think it will not be hard to ſhew it is ſlight, and concludes nothing againſt us.

Firſt, He ſays, 'The expreſſion whereby the par-'ticular law is ſuppoſed to forbid *all* oaths, does fre-'quently, in the law-books, ſignify no more than

'*falſe* oaths, or ſwearing otherwiſe amiſs; as may be 'ſeen by comparing Mat. v. 34. with Levit. v. 1. 'Eccleſ. ix. 2. Jer. xxiii. 10. Zech. v. 3. Hoſ. iv. 2.' But this is rather againſt him than for him; ſince if Chriſt only forbids what was *not* lawful *before*, his righteouſneſs riſes no higher than that of the law of *Moſes*. But it is plain from the text, Mat. v. that Chriſt forbids ſuch ſwearing as *was* lawful before, and therefore more than the texts before mentioned expreſs.

Secondly, page 64. He limits Chriſt's prohibition to thoſe oaths which had no 'ſacredneſs in them, but 'which the Phariſees thought they might make and 'violate without impiety.' This alſo is a mere conjecture, for which he offers us no proof; the contrary being evident, as before; for Chriſt treated of oaths that were to be *performed* to the Lord: were they not, then, ſacred?

But, thirdly, for his third particular, it is as unintelligible as his '*gypſy gibberiſh*' in pag. 10, and he muſt explain it before it can be anſwerable.

His fourth particular is this, 'When he divides this 'prohibition into its parts, Mat. v. 35, 36. he does 'not divide it as againſt ſwearing in *all* caſes, but 'ſets the bounds of his diſtribution directly to oppoſe 'this corrupt gloſs of the Phariſees: for he doth not 'ſay, "Ye have heard that it hath been ſaid, ye ſhall "ſwear in truth, in righteouſneſs, and in judgment:" '*but* "I ſay unto you, Swear not at all:" for ſo far as 'concerned ſwearing by God, the Phariſees doctrine 'was ſound: but what does Chriſt ſay? Why, "I ſay "unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven, nor "by earth, or Jeruſalem, or the head," 'directly 'contrary to ſwearing by the temple, the altar, the 'heavens, which the Phariſees taught to be lawful to 'do, and not be bound by ſuch kind of oaths.' Which, in my opinion, is very weak and groſs; for if it be plain, as it is, that Chriſt forbad ſuch oaths as men ought not to break, but to perform to the Lord, then it was not ſuch oaths as the Phariſees taught

taught to be lawful to take, and not be *bound* by them when they had done. So that he forbids ſuch oaths, as (he ſays) 'the Phariſees doctrine was found 'in;' becauſe it was what they ought not to break, but perform to the Lord: ſo that Chriſt was ſo far from limiting his prohibition to the *Phariſees* oaths, by *heaven*, *earth*, *Jeruſalem*, or the *head*; which, this man ſays, they made not obligatory; that he *forbids* them, by forbidding *thoſe* oaths, that, according to the ancient doctrine of the Jewiſh law, men ought not to *break*, but perform to the Lord; that as every major includes its minor, ſo Chriſt, by his prohibition of the uſe of lawful oaths, includes the prohibition of the practice of unlawful oaths.

Page 67. His fifth allegation is every whit as much beſide the matter as what he ſaid before, viz. 'That 'Chriſt did not condemn ſwearing by *Jeruſalem*, the '*throne*, the *foot-ſtool*, &c. *holily*, but as *vainly* and '*unholily* uſed:' which is to exceed the bounds of all other writers; ſo very heartily does this man love ſwearing. But now I muſt tell him, that he has much wreſted the text, and perverted the plain and obvious ſenſe of it, and miſ-repreſented the mind and doctrine of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; for it is evident, to every conſiderate reader, that Chriſt, in that chapter, was not reproving what was reproveable under the *law*; nor was he exhorting his auditors and diſciples to live up to the righteouſneſs of *it*, which was the way of the prophets, that were under that diſpenſation; but Chriſt plainly introduces a *new one*; even the diſpenſation of the goſpel, the righteouſneſs of his kingdom: and that is the difference between them, as in the caſe of *killing*, *adultery*, &c. as well as of *ſwearing*, Mat. v. 21, 22, 27, 28, 33, 34. "Ye "have heard that it was ſaid to them of old time, "thou ſhalt not kill: but I ſay unto you, that who-"ſoever is angry with his brother without a cauſe, "ſhall be in danger of the judgment; yea, whoſoever "ſhall ſay, Thou fool, ſhall be in danger of hell-fire. "Ye have heard that it was ſaid by them of old

" time, Thou ſhalt not commit adultery; but I ſay " unto you, That whoſoever looketh upon a woman to " luſt after her, hath committed adultery with her " already in his heart." Again, " Ye have heard that " it hath been ſaid of old time, Thou ſhalt not for- " ſwear thyſelf, but ſhalt perform thy oaths to the " Lord; but I ſay unto you, Swear not at all." Now I would fain know if Chriſt's prohibition goes no farther than *Moſes*'s; and if he does not intend by theſe words, that the righteouſneſs of the goſpel ſhould *exceed* that of the *law?* The parallel runs thus: " Thou " ſhalt not kill, thou ſhalt not commit adultery," ſays *Moſes:* " Thou ſhalt not be angry, thou ſhalt not " luſt," ſays *Chriſt*. Now this was no falſe gloſs of the Phariſees in that time, which Chriſt reprehended or reformed, as this adverſary would ſuppoſe; but a plain improvement upon the righteouſneſs of the law, viz. " Thou ſhalt not forſwear thyſelf, but ſhalt per- " form to the Lord thine oaths," ſays *Moſes*. " But I " ſay unto you, Swear not at all," ſays *Chriſt*; " nei- " ther by heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the " earth, for it is his footſtool; neither by Jeruſalem, " nor thy head; but let your communication be yea, " yea; nay, nay; for whatſoever is more than theſe, " cometh of evil." Upon which even Beza ſays, 'That by *forſwearing*, we are not to underſtand a '*falſe* oath; but, that it is beſt not to ſwear at *all*: 'and that what ſpeech is of an higher nature than 'this, is too *much*, and cometh of *evil*:' and Tremellius, out of Maimonides, ſays, 'He is the beſt 'man that will upon no account ſwear.' And the annotation upon this place, of a tranſlation, anno 1599, ſays, 'Whatever ye vouch, vouch it barely; 'and whatſoever ye deny, deny it barely, without 'any more words;' that is, let your affirming and denying be *ſimple*, and upon the authority of your own word and truth, without going about to bind it by the authority of a *greater* and *holier thing*; which is not a bare and ſimple, but a *compounded* ſpeech, and ſo *more* than yea, yea; and nay, nay; and therefore cometh

cometh of *evil.* To which that paſſage of the apoſtle James aptly refers, James v. 12. " But, above all " things, my brethren, ſwear not, neither by heaven, " nor by earth, nor by any *other* oath:" which is to ſay, ' As by nothing *elſe*, ſo not by *God:*' " but let " your yea, be yea; and nay, nay; leſt ye fall into " condemnation."

One would think this man had hardly ever read the Bible, to make oaths ſo eſſential a part of the religion and kingdom of *Chriſt*; when Chriſt himſelf makes it a part of the righteouſneſs of his kingdom, *Not to ſwear at all.* Or is it candid in him, to limit Chriſt's prohibition to the then falſe gloſſes of the Phariſees, when Chriſt looks over their heads, back to the very *decalogue*, or *ten commandments*, for an inſtance, to ſhew, by compariſon, how much the righteouſneſs of his kingdom excels that of the law, that came by *Moſes.* I could wiſh there was nothing but weakneſs to be charged upon this man, in this particular, but his abilities look too conſiderable elſewhere, for that; as well as his diſingenuity too frequent, not to conclude it of a ' *meditated temperament*' to force the text, rather than not have his ends upon us: but with what ſucceſs he has managed it, we muſt leave to the judicious reader.

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APPENDIX

ABOUT

BAPTISM, and the LORD's SUPPER, (ſo called) conſidered: And the KEY, with the People called QUAKERS, defended againſt his Exceptions in thoſe two Particulars.

OF baptiſm he writes thus: 'Baptiſm is a rite of 'admiſſion into the family of God, making 'perſons citizens of heaven, and free of the kingdom 'of the Meſſias. It conſiſts of an outward and viſi-'ble ſign, and an inward ſpiritual grace. Theſe are 'the two parts of the ſame baptiſm, but not two bap-'tiſms.'

One would think that this man had never read the third of Matthew, or the firſt of the Acts. For, in the firſt, *John* diſtinguiſhes his baptiſm from *Chriſt*'s, as plainly as he does his perſon (viz.) "I, indeed, "baptize you with *water* to repentance: but He that "cometh after me, is mightier than I, whoſe ſhoes I "am not worthy to bear: He ſhall baptize you with "the *Holy Ghoſt*, and with *fire*:" which ſhews their difference in nature, excellency, and efficacy. In the laſt ſcripture Chriſt himſelf, juſt before his parting with his diſciples, does very expreſsly and emphatically diſtinguiſh betwixt *his own* baptiſm, and the baptiſm of *John*: "For," ſays he, "*John* truly bap-"tized with *water*, but ye ſhall be baptized with the "*Holy Ghoſt* not many days hence."

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I ſhall not inſiſt upon the force of this place and context ſo fully as by and by; yet nothing can well be plainer, than that Chriſt's words imply *two* baptiſms, that the water was *John*'s, and the *Holy Ghoſt* HIS: and that his intention was to leave that diſtinction upon the minds of his people, not only that *John*'s and *his* were two baptiſms, but, 'that water 'was *John*'s, and not *his*.' And this too, after all, is granted by our oppoſer himſelf, page 89, where he ſays, 'Can any man believe that Jeſus uſed *John*'s 'baptiſm, and not *his own*, in making of diſciples?' But he adds, page 78, 'For neither is the viſible part 'alone, or the inviſible by itſelf; but both in union 'by the divine appointment:' but where this divine appointment is, he does not tell us. Again, page 87. '*John* did the *outward* part, and *Jeſus* the *inward* 'part the ſame moment.' But, ſurely, he is miſtaken, when *John* tells us, the baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt was to come *after*, not to *go along with*, his: and Chriſt told his diſciples, "That it was *to come*," (ſo that his and John's went not together); and bid them "ſtay at Jeruſalem till they *received* it," viz. "The promiſe of the Father;" which was, "the "pouring-forth of the *Holy Ghoſt*;" as the firſt chapter of the Acts informs us: and that was nigh three years after they had been baptized, and baptized others, with *water:* ſo that both did not go together, as this man dreams.

But he proceeds, page 80. 'For *John* admitted men 'into the faith of the *Meſſias*; that is, into the ſtate 'of ſubjects, owning, and acknowledging, allegiance 'to Chriſt. And Chriſt owns this grant and admiſſion 'valid in his kingdom, and that they were legally 'inſtated in the rights of his kingdom, whom *John* 'baptized: this being done by a publick authorized 'herald of his kingdom.'

But it is ſtrange that John had the power to admit men into the *faith* of him, when, at firſt, he ſent his diſciples to him, "To know if HE were the Meſſiah, or "they were to look for *another*." This is to give John

John the keys of David, and to make regeneration an abſolute and neceſſary adjunct, or concomitant, of his water-baptiſm. But thoſe baptized by *John*'s baptiſm, were ſo far from being admitted into the ſtate of ſubjects, and enjoying the rights of Chriſt's kingdom, that in Acts xviii. *Apollos* is ſaid "to know only *John*'s "baptiſm." And chap. xix. Certain diſciples to *John*'s baptiſm, declared to Paul, "they had not ſo "much as *heard* if there were any ſuch thing as the "Holy Ghoſt;" ſo that when Paul aſked them, "To "what, then, were you baptized?" They anſwered, "To *John*'s baptiſm," by way of diſtinction from Chriſt's. And the apoſtle's queſtion led them to that anſwer, being founded upon a diſtinction between the baptiſm of *John*, and that of *Chriſt*. And laſtly, I muſt take leave to wonder how he can think to word upon us ſo great an untruth; as that of 'Chriſt's *own-* 'ing an admiſſion into his kingdom by *John*'s bap- 'tiſm, and that ſuch are legally inſtated in the rights 'thereof, becauſe they were baptized of *John*,' when Chriſt himſelf ſays, "That the leaſt in the kingdom "of God, is greater than John;" which implies, that *John* himſelf was not of that kingdom: and becauſe that cannot be underſtood of the *perſon*, or *ſoul* of John, (for ſo he was certainly a glorious ſubject of it) it muſt refer to his *adminiſtration*, which, he himſelf tells us, alſo "muſt *decreaſe*, and Chriſt's *increaſe*." Beſides, Chriſt told Nicodemus, "That unleſs a man "be born again, he cannot *ſee* the kingdom of God:" how then, is he a ſubject, and inveſted in the rights of that kingdom? Again, Did *John*'s baptiſm *regenerate?* If it did, what need of *fire* and *Holy Ghoſt*, that John ſaid was to come after? What need of any thing after *John*'s, if it was ſo effectual, or was he always attended with ſuch a power as is affirmed? Where, now, is our adverſary's haughty aſſertion, 'That John's diſciples, as ſuch, were the ſubjects of 'Chriſt's kingdom, and legally inveſted in the rights 'thereof,' when it is plain, that the leaſt of that kingdom is greater than their very *baptizer*, the *great he-*

rald

rald of the *kingdom?* But that expreſſion itſelf gives away the cauſe, being well conſidered; for the *forerunner ends* in *Him he foreruns*; and the *herald* in the preſence of the *King*. He has forgot, ſure, who it was that ſaid, or that it was ever ſaid, "The *prophets* "laſted till *John*," and he ended *them*, but he did not *begin* the *Chriſtian diſpenſation*; that was *Chriſt*'s work. *John*'s baptiſm left men in that old world of *Jewiſh rites*, where it found them; but it is *Chriſt*'s "that makes all things new;" *new heavens*, *new earth*, and *new creatures*, to *inherit* them.

But ſays this author, 'Chriſt declares, that being 'baptized with *water*, was a part of righteouſneſs: 'which it could not be, unleſs there was a law of 'the kingdom for it.' As if it might not be righteouſneſs without ſuch a law: for, with his favour, there is as much to be ſaid for Chriſt's *circumciſion*, and eating the *paſchal lamb*, &c. ſince that was to *fulfil* all righteouſneſs too; and yet there was no law of the kingdom of Chriſt for them, unleſs this be one, 'That Chriſt was to fulfil the righteouſneſs of the 'law,' which he did in general, to introduce the kingdom of God. For Chriſt's *fulfilling* of the law and the prophets, of which *John* was the *laſt*, made way for the kingdom to come, which was not of *this* world, nor are its rights, by conſequence; but, of its own nature. That Chriſt *did* fulfil all righteouſneſs, in condeſcending and conforming to divers rites, is ſo far from ratifying, or confirming the practice of them, as this man ſuggeſts, that it diſcharges and *aboliſhes* them. This appears very plain, in that Chriſt's *performing* of the rites of the law, was in order to *end* them, being *made under the law* for that very *purpoſe*. So that *his* being baptized by John, does not eſtabliſh, or any more confirm that *baptiſm*, than his being circumciſed after *Moſes* does perpetuate *circumciſion*. On the contrary, it rather *ends* John's baptiſm. *Moſes* and the *prophets* were until *John*, and John was till *Chriſt*; both had their times, and both their periods in *Him*.

"I am

"I am not He," ſays *John*; but "*John*'s baptiſm "is *it*," ſays this opponent, which is to put *John*'s baptiſm in the room of *Chriſt*'s; and *John*'s miniſtry, though not his perſon, in lieu of *Chriſt*'s. Now *Moſes* and the *prophets* were as the *ſtars* of the *night*; *John* as the *morning ſtar*, the forerunner of the day. He roſe *laſt*, but ſhined *moſt*: but though the morning ſtar be the moſt burning and ſhining of all the cœleſtial lights, and next to the riſing of the SUN himſelf, yet his time is ſhorteſt, his light is ſoon ſwallowed up of the ſun.

Page 81. But this man tells us, 'That Chriſt gave 'commiſſion to his diſciples to baptize with water, 'Mat. xxviii. 19. And that they did underſtand it 'ſo by their practice.' But is it practicable or poſſible, that any ſcripture can reaſonably be ſaid to declare an inſtitution, or be the commiſſion, of any thing which it does not expreſs? Now in that text there is not a word of *water*; how then is water-baptiſm inſtituted by it? I cannot help wondering, and this man muſt allow it me, that the only text to prove the commiſſion of ſo celebrated a practice in our times, ſhould not declare a word of it. But I ſhall next ſhew, notwithſtanding he produces following practice, to prove Chriſt meant, and his diſciples underſtood it ſo, that the text means it no more than it expreſſes it; and that Chriſt, that gave that commiſſion, never intended it to refer to water. This is the text, "Go "ye, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name "of the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghoſt," Mat. xxviii. 19. Now Chriſt, by this commiſſion, muſt mean his *own* baptiſm of the *Spirit*, and that from the nature and force of the words, as well as compariſon of them with other places to which they relate, and that are alſo lately explanatory of them. The words are not *in* the name, but *into* the name of the Father, &c. Which muſt refer to the *power* and *Spirit* of Chriſt; *water* being too feeble to *change* and *waſh* a *heart*, which is the import of baptizing into the *name*, or *nature*, of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt: that

is,

is, by the miniſtry which is from the *Spirit*. So Mark xvi. where Chriſt ſays, "They ſhall caſt out devils "in my *name*;" that is, by my *power*, or by the virtue or force of my *Spirit*, which ſhall attend you for that work and ſervice, that many may be turned from the evil of their ways, and made heirs of an endleſs kingdom.

In fine, after you have received the *Spirit*, you ſhall teach and baptize, or dip, plunge, and intereſt them that believe, into the name and power of God, unto holineſs, righteouſneſs, mercy, truth, &c. Qualifying them to bear the holy and excellent name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt.

And that this is not ſtrained, but natural, and no *allegory* upon the text, I ſhall deſire my reader to look forward, to the firſt of the Acts, and the firſt nine verſes; which plainly expounds this commiſſion, and conſequently reſolves us what baptiſm it refers to; particularly the 4th, 5th, 8th, and 9th verſes, viz. "And being aſſembled together with them, he com- "manded them that they ſhould not depart from Je- "ruſalem, but wait for the promiſe of the Father, "which, ſaith he, ye have heard of me. For *John* "truly baptized with *water*; but *ye* ſhall be baptized "with the Holy Ghoſt, not many days hence. But "ye ſhall receive power, *after* that the Holy Ghoſt is "come upon you: and ye ſhall be witneſſes unto me, "both in Jeruſalem, and in all Judea, and in Sama- "ria, and unto the uttermoſt parts of the earth. "And when he had ſpoken theſe things, while they "beheld, he was taken up, and a cloud received him "out of their ſight."

In which three things are obſervable: firſt, that Chriſt *diſtinguiſhes* his baptiſm from *John*'s.

Secondly, That he aſſigns *water* to *John*'s, and the *Holy Ghoſt* to *his own* baptiſm. Not that John and he had *two water-baptiſms*, yet *two* baptiſms; but that *John*'s was the water-baptiſm, and his the baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt. Therefore his is *not* a water-baptiſm, but a baptiſm *contradiſtinguiſhed* from that of water,

as

as much as the perſon of John was from the perſon of Chriſt.

Thirdly, by comparing the 28th of Matthew with this place in the Acts, we may ſee that the commiſſion in one, is to be conſtrued by the qualification in the other, which is not expreſſed at all in Mat. xxviii. There they are bid *to go*; here they are bid *to ſtay*; that is, 'Stay before you go, and have your qualifica-'tions before you qualify;' viz. *the promiſe of the Father*, to wit, *the baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt*; that is to ſay, *Power from on high*. Why, had they been preaching two or three years, and been baptized, and baptizing, with water, which this man ſays, 'is followed, '*that moment*, with the baptiſm of the *Holy Ghoſt*,' and yet had not been themſelves baptized with it, nor as yet received power from on high to *diſciple* and *baptize* any into Chriſt's kingdom, with *Chriſt*'s baptiſm?

This muſt be ſtrange to our opponent, and who can help it? But ſo it is, reader. For that as one *evangeliſt*, and one part of ſcripture, ſupplies and explains another, this in the *Acts* ſhews, that the commiſſion in *Matthew* ſuppoſes the qualification, mentioned in the firſt of the *Acts*, to precede it; elſe they were to go, before they were qualified to perform.

If, then, it is rational to ſuppoſe, that what paſſed at Chriſt's farewel, as rehearſed by the evangeliſts, ſhould be all laid together, for our more plain and complete underſtanding of the import of it, we muſt needs conclude, that the diſciples were to ſtay at Jeruſalem, till they had received the promiſe of the Father; that is, till they were *baptized with the Holy Ghoſt*; and *then* the commiſſion took place, for them to "Go "and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name "of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt."

Now then, if in order of time, and from the nature of the diſcourſe, it muſt be ſo, how is the baptiſm in *Matthew* a *water*-baptiſm? "*John* truly baptized with "*water*, but *ye* ſhall be baptized with the *Holy Ghoſt* "not many days hence:" *then* "Go ye, teach all "nations,

" nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, " Son, and Holy Ghoſt," &c. It is plain, this is the true order of the diſcourſe, not only from what I have already ſaid, as to qualification *preceding* commiſſion (for they needed no ſuch to baptize with *water*, having done that two or three years before, without it) but for that baptizing ſtands *alone* in Mat. xxviii. 19. which would have been ambiguous, had not that paſſage in *Acts* i. 5. preceded, which made it needleſs to tell us what *ſort* of baptiſm they were to baptize with, and what they were *not*; " For *John* " truly baptized with *water*, but *ye* ſhall be baptized " with the *Holy Ghoſt* not many days hence:" ' Therefore not with *John*'s baptiſm *any more*, but with the ' baptiſm of the *Spirit*, do you go teach all nations, ' baptizing them, through the Holy Spirit, into the ' name of the Father, of the Son, and Holy Ghoſt: ' make them *true Jews*, *true Iſraelites*, in whom there ' is no guile.' And it is certain it was a new ſcene and part they had to act; as much ſuperior to what was before, as power is to form, ſpirit to letter, ſubſtance to ſhadow. " Greater things than theſe ſhall " ye do," ſaid our bleſſed Lord, " becauſe I go to " my Father." I think I have not ſtrained the text, or extorted a wrong meaning. I write what I believe, and take to be, the genuine ſenſe of the place, without partiality, or paſſion.

But our adverſary will have it, that the apoſtles uſed *water-baptiſm* in purſuance of this commiſſion; and inſtances the words of Peter, in the caſe of Cornelius, for proof thereof. The words are theſe, " Can any " man forbid water, that theſe ſhould not be baptized, " which have received the Holy Ghoſt, as well as " we?" Upon which ſays our opponent, pag. 82. ' If it had not been an ordinance, any one might have ' forbid it; therefore the apoſtles accounted themſelves obliged by God to do ſo; and that it was ' not in their power to refuſe it, unleſs they would ' reſiſt God.' To which I ſay, as before: firſt, that water-baptiſm was *John*'s, and not Chriſt's. Secondly,

that *practice* is no *inſtitution*. Thirdly, that the apoſtle Peter did but continue a practice introduced by *John*, not eaſily left among a ceremonious people; it having obtained reputation among them, and was the diſcriminating ſign, or mark, of a change of diſpenſation at hand; and this Peter could not but know, after thoſe diſtinguiſhing and emphatical words of his Lord and Maſter, Acts i. But the diſciples having before been actually engaged in the practice of John's baptiſm, in order to call people to the expectation of a farther thing, continued it afterwards; not of authority, but in their Chriſtian liberty and condeſcenſion, as what had a reference to the Chriſtian diſpenſation; inaſmuch as John, whoſe miniſtry concluded the prophets, became herein the forerunner of Chriſt, "whoſe kingdom," John ſaid, "was at hand," and the more excellent diſpenſation thereof. Laſtly, the reaſon of Peter's words, "Can any man forbid wa-"ter," &c. referred not to the inſtitution, authority, or force of water-baptiſm, but to Peter's caution about Cornelius, that was a *Gentile*, for fear he ſhould give any publick diſtaſte to the *Jews*, whoſe prejudices againſt the *Gentiles*, like ſome Predeſtinarians of our times, excluded them any pretence to religion; inſomuch that we ſee Peter himſelf, without a viſion, was not yet large enough in his ſpirit, to credit Cornelius's convictions and devotion; as much as if he had ſaid, 'Why may not this man, though a *Gentile*, be 'baptized with water, ſince he has received the *Holy* '*Ghoſt*, which is the requiſite qualification of a *true* '*Chriſtian*; and that the promiſe of the Father is to 'them that are afar off, even to all that the Lord our 'God ſhall call, as well as to the ſeed of Abraham, 'after the fleſh?' So that the reaſon of Peter's uſing thoſe words, was not to give authority to water-baptiſm, as an ordinance of Chriſt's kingdom, but to excuſe himſelf againſt *Jewiſh exceptions*, that he feared would be ſcandalized at his owning of a Gentile, which, to them, was unclean, profane, and reprobate.

His

His other ſcripture in defence of what he aſſerts, is Acts ix. 18. which ſays, "That Paul received his ſight, "and was baptized by Ananias." But not a word of *water* is in the text, or in the foregoing or following verſes. On the contrary, there is reaſon to believe it was not meant. "And Ananias putting his hands on "him, ſaid, Brother Saul, the Lord, (even Jesus "that appeared unto thee in the way as thou cameſt) "hath ſent me, that thou mayeſt receive thy ſight, and "be filled with the Holy Ghoſt: and immediately "there fell from his eyes, as it had been ſcales, and he "received his ſight forthwith, and aroſe, and was "baptized." Now here is, firſt, ſight, and Holy Ghoſt, to be given to Saul, by the miniſtry of Ananias: next, he received *ſight*, and was *baptized*. Now muſt not this be the baptiſm of the *Holy Ghoſt?* ſince, "be-"ing filled with the Holy Ghoſt," and "being bap-"tized," are, by the text, made *one* and the *ſame thing?* eſpecially, ſince it is paſt all controverſy, that there was ſuch a thing as the baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt.

His other ſcripture, to prove the authority of water-baptiſm among Chriſtians, is, Acts xi. 15, 16, 17. "And as I began to *ſpeak*, the Holy Ghoſt fell on "*them*, as on *us*, at the beginning. Then remem-"bered I the word of the Lord, how that he ſaid, *John* "indeed baptized with *water*; but *you* ſhall be bap-"tized with the *Holy Ghoſt*. Foraſmuch, then, as "God gave *them* the like gift, as he did unto *us*, who "believed on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, what was *I* that I "could reſiſt *God?*"

Which is ſo far from weakening, that it confirms, our ſenſe and aſſertion: for the bent of Peter's words is to juſtify himſelf, in going to, and communing with, the *uncircumciſion*, and not to vindicate water-baptiſm. And that which he offered in his own vindication to his brethren, was, 1. His viſion. 2. Cornelius's righte-ouſneſs and devotion. And, 3. God's *owning* of him, in that the Holy Ghoſt fell upon *him*, as it had upon *them* in the beginning. "Foraſmuch, then," ſays Peter, "as God gave them the like gift, what was I,

" that I could withſtand God?" As if he had ſaid, ' How could I refuſe to own them, and have fellowſhip ' with them, that *God* owned, and had fellowſhip with, ' and gifted and ſanctified, as well as the believing ' *Jews?*' Speaking not one word, in his account to the brethren, of *water-baptiſm:* but, on the contrary, he makes it *John*'s, by way of diſtinction from *Chriſt*'s baptiſm, by remembering, and repeating, the words of his Lord and Maſter, viz. " *John* indeed baptized " with *water*, but *ye* ſhall be baptized with the *Holy* " *Ghoſt.*" I appeal to every indifferent reader, if I have not done juſtice to the text.

I ſhall next conſider his exceptions to what I ſay in my KEY, in defence of our diſuſe, or ceſſation, of water-baptiſm, &c.

Page 83, 84. The firſt reaſon he makes me give for it, is, ' That all Proteſtants are againſt figures and ' ſhadows.' To which he anſwers, ' But *baptiſm*, and ' the *Lord*'s *ſupper*, being no figures nor ſhadows, all ' Proteſtants are for them; unleſs the *Quakers* are to be ' accounted Proteſtants, that diſown all Proteſtant ' churches, and are owned by none.'

This is all he quotes of mine; and this is what he ſays, on what he has quoted: ſo that they *may be* of the nature of ſhadows and figures, for all him; and, conſequently, Proteſtants practiſe againſt judgment. For he *only* denies them to be figures and ſhadows, and leaves us there. But he had done well, if he had given us his reaſons, and had alſo taken notice of what I ſay, page 22 in my KEY, which immediately foregoes what he has cited out of it; viz. ' That *practice* only is no ' *inſtitution*;' and that is all he can allege in favour of *John*'s baptiſm. That which ſeems my part to perform, though he preſſes it not upon me, is to ſhew, That water-baptiſm, and the Lord's ſupper (ſo called) are of the nature of *figures* and *ſhadows*, of which *Chriſt* was the *ſubſtance*.

Now, that they are ſo, we muſt conſider, That if *Chriſt* was the END of *John*, (as John renders him, Mat.

Mat. iii. 11. John iii. 30. and Chriſt himſelf ſuggeſts to us, Mat. xi. 7 to 12.) then *water-baptiſm* was but a *forerunner*, and ſhewed forth what was to come, "*that* "which the leaſt in the kingdom of heaven *exceeded*," and therefore not *of* the kingdom; and, conſequently, no longer of force in point of inſtitution. Though, by being the *obſervation* peculiar to *John*'s miniſtry, it had obtained credit, and therefore was continued, *ex gratiâ*. But it is plain, from Chriſt's own words, "The kingdom of God *came not* with *obſervation*," Luke xvii. 20. At leaſt, therefore, Proteſtants ought to be modeſt upon us, with reſpect to the reaſon we render for our *ceſſation* of *water-baptiſm*. And though he ſays, 'We ought not to be accounted *Proteſtants*, that diſ-'own all Proteſtant churches, and are owned by none 'of them:' I would have this author to know, we are *true Proteſtants*: Proteſtants upon thoſe reaſons, that were the *firſt motives* to that *character*; and can compare, in our *negatives*, with *any* ſpecies of *Proteſtants*. And do challenge this author, without vanity, upon that head, begin when he will.

At the ſame time, we cannot but have charity for the *perſons* of *Roman Catholicks*, and would, by that, teach them the truth and greater excellency of our religion.

And next, 'for our *diſowning* of all other Proteſtant 'churches, and not being *owned* by them;' Firſt, It is not upon the *ſame grounds* that the *Roman Catholicks* diſown them; and, ſecondly, experience tells us, it is what *all ſorts* of Proteſtants do to *one another*; and therefore not ſo ſingular in us, as is ſuggeſted by this ill-willing author.

But, he is mightily diſpleaſed with me, 'For being 'againſt all *figures* in the time of the *goſpel*;' adding, 'that we, mortals, cannot think, or ſpeak, or work 'without figures;' diſtinguiſhing between '*prenuncia-*'*tive* and *commemorative* ſigns:' ridiculing me for ſuch an aſſertion. But if my reader will turn to page 24. of my KEY, cited by this author, he will find, I *only* deny, under the goſpel, the *neceſſity* and *ſervice* of *prenunciative* or *forerunning* ſigns; joining to ſigns,

figures and *ſhadows*; and promiſcuouſly uſing them to one and the ſame purpoſe, and therefore not *all* ſigns, but ſigns of ſomething *to come*, and to be *accompliſhed* by the *coming* thereof; as the following words, he makes another quibble upon, plainly ſhew; viz. 'That 'the nature of the *goſpel* is *inward*, *ſpiritual*, and 'eternal.' But he leaves out, 'That therefore the con-'tinuing to practiſe figures, ſigns and ſhadows, as ſtill 'in force, (which *forerun* Chriſt and his diſpenſation) 'make his *coming* of none *effect*.' For then he had given too ſtrong a reaſon for our diſuſe, and diſappointed himſelf of the unfair advantage he endeavours to gain upon me, by letting his reader ſee that I did not deny the continuance of *all* ſigns, but *prenunciative* or *forerunning* ones; ſuch as are of the nature of *figures* and *ſhadows*, and therefore can have no commiſſion to *perpetuate* them; of which I take *water-baptiſm* and the *ſupper* to be two. For *Chriſt*, as well as *John*, declares water baptiſm a *forerunner* of a more *excellent* baptiſm. And one thing wherein that excellency of Chriſt's baptiſm conſiſts, is the *durableneſs* of it: but if John's is to laſt as *long* as Chriſt's, Chriſt's does not excel John's in *duration*; quite contrary to John's own diſcrimination and teſtimony, viz. "He *(Chriſt)* ſhall *increaſe*, "and I *decreaſe*."

But if it be conſidered, that this adverſary would make me deny *all* ſigns, as Exodus vii. 8, 9. Numb. xi. Pſalm lxxvii. Jer. xxxii. (juſt as his friend J. Faldo, and ſome of that ingenuity, have made us to deny all ſcripture commands, becauſe ſome of us have ſaid, (in *temporary* and *extraordinary* caſes, as that of *Jeremiah*, *Jonas*, *Amos*, &c.) 'That which is a 'command to *another*, is no command to *us*, unleſs 'the ſame ſpirit *require* the ſame, or the *like* thing of 'us;' therefore the moral law, or decalogue, is no law or command to us, nor are we obliged to yield obedience to it, (though it be general and perpetual); I ſay, they that conſider the juſtice of my parallel, and injuſtice of his inſinuation, will perceive he is not a

fair

fair enemy, nor ought to have credit with his reader, to our prejudice.

I am, then, no more againſt *figures*, than againſt *forms*. We cannot, I know, live, ſpeak, or act without them: but theſe are not *forerunning* ſigns or forms, *temporary* and *ſhadowy* obſervations; but ſuch *neceſſary* and *eſſential* ones, as are coupled to our very being, and requiſite converſe among men.

But from this he falls hard upon me, becauſe I ſay, The goſpel is *inward*, *ſpiritual*, and *eternal*:' 'For,' ſays he, 'without many figures, this is not ſenſe; and 'with them, is either not true, or not to the purpoſe. 'The goſpel, being the new covenant, is neither in-'ward nor outward. Will W. P. never leave talking 'of inſide and outſide of things that have *no* ſides?' This language, I doubt not, will ſound harſh, as well as light, to other people's ears, as well as ours: and truly he is a daring and adventurous perſon; for till now, I thought *truth* had an *inſide*: if he had read the 31ſt of Jeremiah, he would have found there, that the goſpel is an *inward* ſtate, and has an inſide; where God, ſpeaking by that prophet of the goſpel, or new covenant time, ſays, "Behold, the days come that I "will make a new covenant with the houſe of Iſrael, "and with the houſe of Judah: not according to the "covenant that I made with their fathers, in the day "that I took them by the hand, to bring them out "of the land of Egypt (which my covenant they brake, "although I was an huſband unto them, ſaith the "Lord): but this ſhall be the covenant that I will "make with the houſe of Iſrael; after thoſe days, ſaith "the Lord, I will put my law in their *inward* parts, "and write it in their *hearts*, and will be their God, "and they ſhall be my people. And they ſhall teach "no more every man his neighbour, and every man "his brother, ſaying, Know the Lord: for they ſhall "*all* know me, from the leaſt of them to the greateſt "of them, ſaith the Lord: for I will forgive their "iniquity, and I will remember their ſin no more." Now here is truth with *both* its ſides: truth in its *out-*

ward appearance, according to the low and carnal ſtate of man: and this may be called, comparatively, the *out-ſide* of truth. Here, alſo, we may learn, that truth has an *inſide*; a more ſpiritual and eternal part; and that is what I call the *goſpel-diſpenſation:* or, that this more inward and ſpiritual appearance of the truth, is the new covenant, or goſpel. What elſe did our Lord Jeſus intend by the *goſpel of the kingdom*, than the bleſſing of the *power of God*, to deliver man from the power of ſin and ſatan, the original of it? So the apoſtle phraſes it, "The goſpel is the power of God "to ſalvation." That is, the power of the kingdom of God, and that is the goſpel of the kingdom. Now if this be not of an inward, ſpiritual, and eternal nature, nothing can be: which, I preſume, the reader will, with me, think an abſurd, as well as unchriſtian concluſion.

But he ſays, 'It is partly *inward* and partly *outward*.' I ſay, It is *inward*, but it may be outwardly *expreſſed* by a godly converſation; and ſo far, and no otherwiſe, it may be ſaid to be *outward*. Nor does this weaken my aſſertion, or the conſequence I have obſerved from it; viz. That the goſpel, and new covenant, came not with *outward obſervations*; and that *water-baptiſm* was ſuch; therefore no ordinance of the kingdom of the Meſſiah.

But if it be an ordinance, as this author ſays, p. 87, and that the inward part *keeps time* with the outward (for there he allows of *inſide* and *outſide*) then it would do ſo to as many as have the outward part adminiſtered to them: but we have no evidence of ſuch concurrence of the Holy Ghoſt. We have never found it in ourſelves, nor do we ſee it in others, that are in the practice of it, but much the contrary; in that envy, pride, luxury, and covetouſneſs prevail, and little of the true croſs of Chriſt, ſelf-denial, dying daily, or the new creature appears: how, then, does the inward grace make up but one baptiſm, if it accompany not *water?* But of that I have already treated before; and, it is plain, it is but *gratis dictum* on our adverſary's ſide. He begs the queſtion.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, page 90. finding himſelf a-ground about the paſſage of the apoſtle Paul, 1 Cor. i. 7. "For Chriſt "ſent me not to *baptize*, but to *preach* the *goſpel*;" he endeavours to gloſs away its force, what he can, from the end for which I cited it, and the apoſtle writ it. The firſt thing he oppoſes is, 'That ſince water-bap-'tiſm was *Peter*'s and his brethren's commiſſion, which 'Chriſt gave them before his aſcenſion, to the end of 'the world—it is not to be imagined that Matthias and 'Paul were without it.' But in this alſo he begs the queſtion.

I have already ſhewed that commiſſion is miſtaken by him, and that *water* is no ways concerned in that text; and that water-baptiſm was *John*'s, and not *Chriſt*'s; and that they were not *one* baptiſm, or inſeparable in their adminiſtration. Alſo, that *practice* is no *inſtitution*; and that water-baptiſm is a *prenunciative* ſign, and has its *accompliſhment* in that baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt, as *John* had in *Chriſt*; the *two adminiſtrators* of the *two baptiſms*.

But next, he ſays, 'Paul ſpoke an ellipſis, elegantly; 'meaning, that he was not ſent *only* to baptize, but 'chiefly to *preach*;' citing two or three ſcriptures, that he imagines parallel, and illuſtrating that place, as Hoſ. vi. 6. "I will have mercy, and not ſacrifice." And, "Let women adorn themſelves, not with putting "on apparel," &c. 1 Pet. iii. 3. 'Now,' ſays he, 'Theſe places prove, that the Iſraelites were not to 'ſacrifice to God, and women muſt go naked, &c. (as ſome Quakers did) with the ſame evidence that 'Paul's words teach, That Chriſt ſent him not to bap-'tize.' He might, if he had pleaſed, have cut it all ſhort, and (like what L. Muggleton once ſaid of Moſes) have told us, Paul did not *mean* what he *writ*. But theſe places are ill applied by this man; for when God ſaid, "He would have mercy, and not ſacrifice," he meant not to have *ſacrifice* at that time, and in thoſe caſes, wherein he called for *mercy*. He would not be ſo put off, nor have duties *exchanged*: that ſpeech is limited to, and to be interpreted by, the preſent ſtate of

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the people he ſpoke to, who were unqualified for ſacrifice, becauſe they were unmerciful and cruel; and the merciful God, in that ſtate, would have none of their ſacrifices. What is this to the apoſtle's words about baptiſm, that denies it *any part* in his commiſſion? There is no parallel in the caſe; but if any, it is for us, rather than againſt us: for that of not putting on of apparel, it is evident, for ſo the apoſtle intended by Ἡ ἐνδύσεως ἱματίων κόσμος, as the words themſelves plainly import, viz. garments of *finery* and *ornament*, and not uſeful clothing. So that the apoſtle meant what he ſaid, in the uſe of the word; for ſuch apparel is not to be ever uſed by true Chriſtians.

For his ſaying, 'That ſome of our women have gone 'naked;' it is affirmed with lightneſs; though ſome few of our friends have gone naked, for a ſign to this generation, in token of God's *ſtripping* ſome perſecutors of their power, and in particular that generation of the clergy, that preceded the reſtoration; which, having riſen through perſecution, forgot their pleas, when they had power, towards thoſe that diſſented from them; and teſtified againſt the ſame evils in them, that they had juſtly inveighed againſt in the former biſhops days. And now he may ſee we are not againſt all SIGNS.

To conclude: It is plain the apoſtle had no obligation upon him to this expreſſion, from a compariſon any had made between water-baptiſm and the preaching of the goſpel. Nor does he uſe any, though this man makes him to do ſo, to juſtify his imagined elegancy. The occaſion of this expreſſion, the text ſhews, was the vanity of ſome diſciples, that were comparing and boaſting of their *baptizers*; not a word of baptiſm itſelf, to over or undervalue that tradition. Why, then, does Paul take occaſion, not only to ſtrike at them, but *baptiſm* too? What had baptiſm done, to be ſo coarſely treated? 'So ſacred an inſtitution; the very rite or 'door of admiſſion (ſays this man) into the kingdom 'of the Meſſiah,' p. 80. Why, without doubt, it was to let them ſee, that they had ſo little cauſe to boaſt of

their

their reſpective *baptizers*, (for, "who is *Paul*, and who "is *Apollos?*") that they ought not to value themſelves upon that very *baptiſm*, ſince it was not what he had in *commiſſion*, but what he had uſed as a *tradition*, that had obtained ſome credit among them: elſe, the apoſtle muſt not have had the *ſame* commiſſion that the other apoſtles had; who yet ſaid, "he was behind none of "the reſt of the apoſtles."

Again, Baptizing, in Mat. xxviii. 19. was as much the apoſtle's commiſſion as teaching or preaching: nay, the preferable part. For though preaching opened their underſtandings, it was *baptiſm* that gave them admiſſion into the kingdom of the Meſſiah; made them ſubjects thereof; and inſtated them in the rights of it: yea, the ſeal of the covenant that God made by Chriſt with mankind, without which no remiſſion of ſins, or entering of God's kingdom. Can *ſuch* a baptiſm (and ſuch an one this adverſary renders *water*-baptiſm) be no eſſential part of Paul's commiſſion, or not upon equal terms with teaching, when by it people are to be intereſted in the ſacred name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt; that is, to be made, qualified, admitted, and ſealed, True Chriſtians, ſubjects of Chriſt's kingdom, citizens of heaven, and endowed with all the privileges thereof. How *little* is this man willing to allow baptiſm to be, that he may keep it any thing in force, and excuſe it from the general ſenſe of the apoſtle's words? Were there as much difference between preaching and baptiſm, as between mercy and ſacrifice, it might have helped him better. But inaſmuch as the apoſtle denies *water*-baptiſm to be in his commiſſion, and that it is certain he had the ſame commiſſion the reſt had, whatever was his practice, in condeſcenſion (as in circumciſing of Timothy) *that* baptiſm that is indeed *in* Chriſt's commiſſion, Mat. xxviii. muſt be the baptiſm of the *Holy Ghoſt*. And this is the leſs to be doubted, ſince the ſame apoſtle, that denies *water-baptiſm* any place in his commiſſion (which he could never, if an *ordinance* of *Chriſt*, and the *rite* of *admiſſion* into the *kingdom* of the *Meſſiah*) makes *baptiſm* an article in his *epitome* of *Chriſti-*

Chriſtianity, viz. That there is (Eph. iv. 5, 6.) "One "Lord, one faith, one baptiſm: one God and Father "of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you "all." This baptiſm being therefore eſſential, muſt be that of his commiſſion, and conſequently the baptiſm of the *Holy Ghoſt*, Acts i. 15.

But, after all, I know not what right this man has to argue upon the head of *water-baptiſm* againſt us; ſince, if I miſtake him not, he is of thoſe that make *children* the ſubjects of that practice, who cannot *believe*, nor be *taught*, in order to it; and therefore, not within the ſcope and direction of the text. If it ſhould be ſaid, 'That children may be as well *baptized* as *circumciſed*;' I ſay, no: for *faith* was not ſo perſonally required to circumciſion, as it is to baptiſm: nor are the *covenants*, or *kingdoms* the ſame, to which they refer; therefore an improper and unjuſt alluſion. Upon the whole matter, we let fall the baptiſm of water, as *John*'s, and not *Chriſt*'s; therefore, not in contempt of a Chriſtian ordinance, the Lord knows, but in honour of the Chriſtian diſpenſation: and the rather, becauſe of the great abuſe of it; both *ſprinklers* and *dippers* laying, as we apprehend, a dangerous *ſtreſs* upon it: as indeed they do upon the uſe of the *Lord's-ſupper*; far beyond *ſigns*, and as if they were the inward *graces* themſelves; too often referring thither, rather than to the *obedience* of *faith* in *Chriſt*; and falſly quieting their uneaſy minds under diſobedience, and neglect of the croſs of Jeſus, with the performance of theſe outward *ſigns* of inward *graces*; the generality of them being but too barren of any *true* ſign of the power of grace upon them.

But to that little he has ſaid about the Lord's-Supper, ſo called, I muſt ſay ſomething before I cloſe this treatiſe. He tells us,

Page 92. 'The ſame, in ſubſtance, may be ſaid of 'the *Lord's-Supper* as of baptiſm.'

Reply. Then the ſame, in ſubſtance, may ſerve in defence of the other. He adds,

'Chriſt

'Chriſt celebrates it with his diſciples, ſignifying, 'That his meaning was, they ſhould perform this ſer-'vice at other times, after his death, by conſtraining 'them to do it in remembrance of him; which is a 'full inſtitution of this ſervice.'

Reply. That which Chriſt celebrated, was the *paſchal lamb*, or *paſſover*, which he told his diſciples, "he "ſo much longed to eat with them." And this was the Jews great *anniverſary ſupper*, in commemoration of their fore-fathers mighty deliverance from *Pharoah*, and paſſing at night out of *Egypt*, towards the land that God had promiſed their father Abraham he would give to his off-ſpring. And it was alſo the concluſion or winding up of the courſe of our Saviour's life; the fulfilling of the ſhadowy ordinances and miniſtration he was born under (he being the *antitype*); at the cloſe of which he was graciouſly pleaſed to intimate to them that unwelcome and uneaſy news of his departure and death, by bidding them eat that bread, and drink that cup, and ſo do the like, as a "*Memorial*, or in *re-*"*membrance* of him." viz. his *Death*, "until he came "to them again."

He did thereby,

I. Inform them of his departure and death, by giving them a memorial of him; which was ſo hard for them to think of.

II. He tells them, That he will not leave them comfortleſs; he will come to them again; and he will drink new wine with them in the kingdom of his Father; which, in its due ſeaſon, ſhould be made manifeſt to them.

III. That they were to look to that coming, as an accompliſhment of that memorial.

IV. That this muſt refer to his ſpiritual coming, as the bread of life; and that it was only to hold them up in their minority, whoſe weakneſs, incredulity, and doubting, were well known to him, and which, Luke xxiv. 11, 25. are enough obſerved; even after all they had heard and ſeen of the power of Chriſt.

That

That this practice lasted longer, I grant; but that it lasted of authority, I find not, but rather of weakness: signs generally have a resemblance of the things they signify or represent: there seems none, in any other respect, to me so proper and suitable, as of Christ being the "Bread that came down from heaven," John vi. and as such he came to his disciples some time after his ascension; for as yet they were, as before observed, in several respects weak, yea, carnal, and to be stirred up and instructed in sacred mysteries, by outward and sensible things.

Page 93. As to what this author says, 'That the 'apostle Paul had a commission to administer this 'sacrament,' 1 Cor. xi. to 26. It is his mistake; for it was not a commission, but a *tradition*. He tells us what he *received* of the Lord's doings; but neither commands nor recommends it, only reproves indecency, and requires more respect in performing, "as often as "they do it." But if that chapter be well read, the poor and mean condition of the people he writ to will be seen; to whom signs, well understood, might be of benefit. But that neither proves their continuance under the new covenant, nor their service to those that were come to discern well the Lord's body; what it is, and what it is made of; as chapter x. 15, 16, 17.

Page 94, 95. But our adversary will have it, 'That 'Christ's coming, is to judgment, at the end of all 'things; and until then, this sacrament, as he calls it, 'is to continue:' telling me, That when Christ said, 'he would not drink any more of the fruit of the vine, 'till he should drink it new, with them, in the kingdom of his Father, Christ indeed means it of a spiritual 'wine; but that the kingdom of his Father was heaven; 'and therefore the sign was to cease, till that kingdom 'began; which was not to be, till Christ had delivered up the kingdom unto God, even his Father, 'at the end of the world.'

Reply. But he has forgot, surely, that in the same page he allows the kingdom of God was then among the

Jews,

Jews, though not *in* them; and ſo come *before* the end of the world. And if he would have called to mind the firſt ſentence of John the Baptiſt's ſermon, and the driſt of the diſciples miniſtry, that Chriſt ſent forth, he muſt have found that it was, "Repent, for the kingdom of "God, *or* of heaven, is *at hand*." as Mat. iii. 2. chap. x. 7. Then, not ſo far off as the end of the world. Again, the apoſtle declared, Heb. xii. 22, 23, 24. the true believers of his day were "come to "Mount Zion, to God, the judge of all, and to the "ſpirits of the juſt made perfect;" and alſo, that they "ſat in heavenly places in Chriſt Jeſus;" which muſt be an attainment above ſigns of inviſible grace; being the life and ſubſtance of religion, and ſo the period and conſummation of types, ſhadows, and ſuch ſort of ſigns or ſignifications as are in queſtion. They that *perſonally* enjoy their deareſt friends will not repair to their *pictures*, (though drawn ever ſo much to the life) to quicken their remembrance of them.

Chriſt did promiſe his, That he would *come again*, he would not leave them *comfortleſs*, and that he would drink of the cup or fruit of the vine after a *new*, or *other* manner with them, even "in the kingdom of "his Father." And in the Revelations, chap. iii. he makes an holy proclamation, as it were with an Oyez! "Behold," ſays he, "I ſtand at the door and knock; "if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I "will come in to him, and SUP with him, and he with "me." This, we are not aſhamed to ſay, is our ſupper, or the ſupper of the riſen and glorified Jeſus, which the people called Quakers do acknowledge, profeſs and practiſe as the *Lord*'s-*ſupper*; the true goſpel, new covenant ſupper: the ſupper *of* and *in* the *kingdom* of *God*; which is come up in thouſands, bleſſed be his name! and is coming more and more, among, and in the hearts of, the children of men. And though the ſeed of this kingdom be ſown in *all*; yet the *good* ground alone knows it to grow to advantage. Thoſe that *obey* the manifeſtation of the *light* of the Lord Jeſus in their ſouls, the "ſeed of the kingdom," are the

the true and ſenſible witneſſes of it: the government of their hearts and affections being upon his ſhoulders, according to that bleſſed promiſe, Iſaiah ix. 5, 6, 7. And ſuch can ſay, "Thy kingdom is come, and thy will is "done in earth, as it is in heaven."

Even ſo come, Lord Jeſus! more and more ſet up thy kingdom in the ſouls of the children of men; that the holy will of thy Father may be done in earth; that mercy and truth, righteouſneſs and peace, may embrace and kiſs each other; ſo ſhall the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Chriſt; who is God over all bleſſed for ever.

SOME

SOME FRUITS OF SOLITUDE,

IN

REFLECTIONS AND MAXIMS

RELATING TO THE

CONDUCT OF HUMAN LIFE.

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THE PREFACE.

READER,

THIS enchiridion I preſent thee with, is the fruit of ſolitude: a ſchool few care to learn in, though none inſtructs us better. Some parts of it are the reſult of ſerious reflection: others, the flaſhings of lucid intervals: written for private ſatisfaction, and now publiſhed for an help to human conduct.

The author bleſſeth God for his retirement, and kiſſes that gentle hand which led him into it: for though it ſhould prove barren to the world, it can never do ſo to him.

He has now had ſome time he could call his own; a property he was never ſo much maſter of before: in which he has taken a view of himſelf and the world; and obſerved wherein he hath hit and miſſed the mark: what might have been done, what mended, and what avoided in his human conduct: together with the omiſſions and exceſſes of others, as well ſocieties and governments, as private families and perſons. And he verily thinks, were he to live over his life again, he could not only, with God's grace, ſerve Him, but his neighbour and himſelf, better than he hath done, and have ſeven years of his time to ſpare. And yet, perhaps, he hath not been the worſt or the idleſt man in the world; nor is he the oldeſt. And this is the rather ſaid, that it might quicken thee, reader, to loſe none of the time that is yet thine.

There is nothing of which we are apt to be ſo laviſh as of time, and about which we ought to be more ſolicitous; ſince without it we can do nothing in this world. Time is what we want moſt, but what, alas!

we uſe worſt; and for which God will certainly moſt ſtrictly reckon with us, when time ſhall be no more.

It is of that moment to us in reference to both worlds, that I can hardly wiſh any man better, than that he would ſeriouſly conſider what he does with his time: how, and to what ends, he employs it; and what returns he makes to God, his neighbour, and himſelf for it. Will he never have a leger for this? This, the greateſt wiſdom and work of life.

To come but once into the world, and trifle away our true enjoyment of it, and of ourſelves in it, is lamentable indeed. This one reflection would yield a thinking perſon great inſtruction. And ſince nothing below man can ſo think; man, in being thoughtleſs, muſt needs fall below himſelf. And that, to be ſure, ſuch do, as are unconcerned in the uſe of their moſt precious time.

This is but too evident, if we will allow ourſelves to conſider, that there is hardly any thing we take by the right end, or improve to its juſt advantage.

We underſtand little of the works of God, either in nature or grace. We purſue falſe knowledge, and miſtake education extremely. We are violent in our affections, confuſed and immethodical in our whole life; making that a burthen, which was given for a bleſſing; and ſo of little comfort to ourſelves or others: miſapprehending the true notion of happineſs, and ſo miſſing of the right uſe of life, and way of happy living.

And until we are perſuaded to ſtop, and ſtep a little aſide, out of the noiſy crowd, and incumbering hurry of the world, and calmly take a proſpect of things, it will be impoſſible we ſhould be able to make a right judgment of ourſelves, or know our own miſery. But after we have made the juſt reckonings which retirement will help us to, we ſhall begin to think the world in great meaſure mad, and that we have been in a ſort of Bedlam all this while.

Reader, whether young or old, think it not too ſoon, or too late, to turn over the leaves of thy paſt life: and

and be ſure to fold down where any paſſage of it may affect thee: and beſtow thy remainder of time, to correct thoſe faults in thy future conduct: be it in relation to this or the next life. What thou wouldeſt do, if what thou haſt done were to do again, be ſure to do as long as thou liveſt, upon the like occaſions.

Our reſolutions ſeem to be vigorous, as often as we reflect upon our paſt errors: but, alas! they are apt to flag again upon freſh temptations to the ſame things.

The author does not pretend to deliver thee an exact piece; his buſineſs not being oſtentation, but charity. It is miſcellaneous in the matter of it, and by no means artificial in the compoſure. But it contains hints, that may ſerve thee for texts to preach to thyſelf upon, and which comprehend much of the courſe of human life: ſince, whether thou art parent or child, prince or ſubject, maſter or ſervant, ſingle or married, publick or private, mean or honourable, rich or poor, proſperous or improſperous, in peace or controverſy, in buſineſs or ſolitude; whatever be thy inclination or averſion, practice or duty, thou wilt find ſomething not unſuitably ſaid for thy direction and advantage. Accept and improve what deſerves thy notice; the reſt excuſe, and place to account of goodwill to thee, and the whole creation of God.

REFLECTIONS AND MAXIMS.

PART. I.

1. IGNORANCE.] IT is admirable to conſider how many millions of people come into, and go out of the world, ignorant of themſelves, and of the world they have lived in.

2. If one went to ſee Windſor-caſtle, or Hampton-court, it would be ſtrange not to obſerve and remember the ſituation, the building, the gardens, fountains, &c. that make up the beauty and pleaſure of ſuch a ſeat: and yet few people know *themſelves*: no, not their *own bodies*, the houſes of their minds, the moſt curious ſtructure of the world; a *living*, *walking* tabernacle: nor the *world*, of which it was made, and out of which it is fed; which would be ſo much our benefit, as well as our pleaſure, to know. We cannot doubt of this, when we are told that the "inviſible things of God are brought to light by the "things that are *ſeen*;" and conſequently we read our duty in them, as often as we look upon them, to Him that is the great and wiſe Author of them, if we look as we ſhould do.

3. The world is certainly a great and ſtately volume of natural things; and may be not improperly ſtiled

the *hieroglyphicks* of a better: but, alas, how very few leaves of it do we ſeriouſly turn over! This ought to be the ſubject of the education of our youth: who, at twenty, when they ſhould be fit for buſineſs, know little or nothing of it.

4. EDUCATION.] We are in pain to make them ſcholars, but not *men!* To *talk*, rather than to *know*; which is true canting.

5. The firſt thing obvious to children, is what is *ſenſible*; and that we make no part of their rudiments.

6. We preſs their memory too ſoon, and puzzle, ſtrain and load them with words and rules; to know *grammar* and *rhetorick*, and a ſtrange *tongue* or two, that it is ten to one may never be uſeful to them; leaving their natural genius to *mechanical* and *phyſical*, or *natural* knowledge uncultivated and neglected; which would be of exceeding uſe and pleaſure to them through the whole courſe of their life.

7. To be ſure, languages are not to be deſpiſed or neglected. But *things* are ſtill to be preferred.

8. Children had rather be making of tools, and inſtruments of play; *ſhaping*, *drawing*, *framing*, and *building*, &c. than getting ſome rules of propriety of ſpeech by heart: and thoſe, alſo, would follow with more judgment, and leſs trouble and time.

9. It were happy if we ſtudied *nature* more in natural things; and acted *according* to nature; whoſe rules are *few*, *plain*, and *moſt reaſonable*.

10. Let us begin where ſhe begins, go her pace, and cloſe always where ſhe ends, and we cannot miſs of being good *naturaliſts*.

11. The creation would not be longer a riddle to us; the *heavens*, *earth*, and *waters*, with their reſpective, various, and numerous inhabitants; their productions, natures, ſeaſons, ſympathies and antipathies; their uſe, benefit, and pleaſure, would be better underſtood by us: and an eternal *wiſdom*, *power*, *majeſty*, and *goodneſs*, very *conſpicuous* to us, through thoſe ſenſible and paſſing *forms*: the world wearing the mark

of

of its MAKER, whoſe ſtamp is every where viſible, and the characters very legible to the children of wiſdom.

12. And it would go a great way to caution and direct people in their uſe of the world, that they were better ſtudied and knowing in the creation of it.

13. For how could men find the conſcience to abuſe it, while they ſhould ſee the Great Creator look them in the face, in all and every part thereof?

14. Therefore ignorance makes them inſenſible; and to that inſenſibility may be aſcribed their hard uſage of ſeveral parts of this noble creation, that has the ſtamp and voice of a DEITY every where, and in every thing, to the obſerving.

15. It is pity, therefore, that books have not been compoſed for youth, by ſome curious and careful naturaliſts, and alſo mechanicks, in the *Latin* tongue, to be uſed in ſchools, that they might learn *things* with *words:* things obvious and familiar to them, and which would make the tongue eaſier to be attained by them.

16. Many able gardeners and huſbandmen are yet ignorant of the reaſon of their calling; as moſt artificers are of the reaſon of their own rules that govern their excellent workmanſhip. But a naturaliſt and mechanick of *this* ſort, is maſter of the reaſon of *both*, and might be of the practice too, if his induſtry kept pace with his ſpeculation; which were very commendable; and without which, he cannot be ſaid to be a complete naturaliſt or mechanick.

17. Finally, if *man* be the index or epitome of the *world*, as philoſophers tell us, we have only to read *ourſelves* well, to be learned in it. But becauſe there is nothing we leſs regard, than the characters of the POWER that made us, which are ſo clearly written upon us, and the world he has given us, and can beſt tell us what we are and ſhould be, we are even ſtrangers to our own genius: the glaſs in which we ſhould ſee that true, inſtructing, and agreeable variety, which is to be obſerved in nature, to the admiration of that

wiſdom

wiſdom, and adoration of that power, which made us all.

18. PRIDE.] And yet, we are very apt to be full of ourſelves, inſtead of Him that made what we ſo much value; and but for whom, we can have no reaſon to value ourſelves. For we have nothing that we can call our own; no, not ourſelves: for we are all but tenants, and at will too, of the Great LORD of ourſelves, and the reſt of this great farm, the world that we live upon.

19. But, methinks, we cannot anſwer it to ourſelves, as well as our Maker, that we ſhould live and die ignorant of ourſelves; and thereby of Him, and the obligations we are under to him for ourſelves.

20. If the worth of a gift ſets the obligation, and directs the return of the party that receives it; he that is ignorant of it, will be at a loſs to value it, and the Giver *for* it.

21. Here is man, in his ignorance of himſelf. He knows not how to eſtimate his Creator, becauſe he knows not how to value his creation. If we conſider his make, and lovely compoſiture; the ſeveral ſtories of his wonderful ſtructure; his divers members, their order, function, and dependency; the inſtruments of food, the veſſels of digeſtion, the ſeveral tranſmutations it paſſes; and how nouriſhment is carried and diffuſed throughout the whole body, by moſt intricate and imperceptible paſſages: how the animal ſpirit is thereby refreſhed, and with an unſpeakable dexterity and motion ſets all parts at work to feed themſelves: and, laſt of all, how the rational ſoul is ſeated in the animal, as its proper houſe, as is the animal in the body: I ſay, if this rare fabrick alone were but conſidered by us, with all the reſt by which it is fed and comforted, ſurely man would have a more reverent ſenſe of the power, wiſdom, and goodneſs of God, and of that duty he owes to him for it. But if he would be acquainted with his own ſoul, its noble faculties, its union with the body, its nature and end,

and

and the providences by which the whole frame of humanity is preſerved, he would admire and adore his good and great God. But man is become a ſtrange *contradiction* to himſelf; but it is *of* himſelf; not being by conſtitution, but *corruption*, ſuch.

22. He would have others to obey him, even his own kind; but he will not obey GOD, that is ſo much above him, and who made him.

23. He will loſe none of his authority; no, not bate an ace of it: he is humorous to his wife, he beats his children, is angry with his ſervants, ſtrict with his neighbours, revenges all affronts to extremity; but, alas! forgets all the while, that *he is the man*; and is more in arrear to God, that is ſo very patient with him, than they are to him, with whom he is ſo ſtrict and impatient.

24. He is curious to waſh, dreſs, and perfume his body, but careleſs of his ſoul. The one ſhall have many hours, the other not ſo many minutes. This ſhall have three or four new ſuits in a year, but that muſt wear its *old* clothes ſtill.

25. If he be to receive or ſee a great man, how nice and anxious is he that all things be in order? And with what reſpect and addreſs does he approach and make his court? But to GOD, how dry, and formal, and conſtrained in his devotion?

26. In his prayers he ſays, "*Thy* will be done;" but means his *own:* at leaſt acts ſo.

27. It is too frequent to begin with *God*, and end with the *world*. But he is the *good* man's beginning and end; his *alpha* and *omega*.

28. LUXURY.] Such is now become our delicacy, that we will not eat ordinary meat, nor drink ſmall, palled liquor; we muſt have the beſt, and the beſt-cooked, for our bodies, while our ſouls feed on empty or corrupted things.

29. In ſhort, man is ſpending all upon a bare houſe, and hath little or no furniture within to recommend it; which is preferring the cabinet before the jewel, a leaſe of

of seven years before an inheritance. So absurd a thing is man, after all his proud pretences to wit and understanding.

30. INCONSIDERATION.] The want of due consideration, is the cause of all the unhappiness man brings upon himself. For his second thoughts rarely agree with his first; which pass not without a considerable retrenchment or correction. And yet that sensible warning is, too frequently, not precaution enough for his future conduct.

31. Well may we say, 'Our infelicity is of ourselves;' since there is nothing we *do* that we should *not* do, but we *know* it, and yet *do it*.

32. DISAPPOINTMENTS *and* RESIGNATION.] For disappointments, that come not by our own *folly*, they are the trials or correction of *heaven*: and it is our own fault, if they prove not our advantage.

33. To repine at them, does not mend the matter: it is only to grumble at our Creator. But to see the hand of God in them, with an humble submission to his will, is the way to turn our *water* into *wine*, and engage the greatest love and mercy on our side.

34. We must needs disorder ourselves, if we only look at our losses. But if we consider how little we deserve what is *left*, our passions will cool, and our murmurs will turn into thankfulness.

35. If our hairs fall not to the ground, less do we, or our substance, without God's providence.

36. Nor *can* we fall *below* the arms of God, how low soever it be we fall.

37. For though our Saviour's passion is over, his compassion is not. That never fails his humble, sincere disciples: in him they find more, than all that they lose in the world.

38. MURMURING.] Is it reasonable to take it ill, that any body desires of us that which is their own? All we have

to

have is the Almighty's: and ſhall not God have his own when he calls for it?

39. Diſcontentedneſs is not only in ſuch a caſe ingratitude, but injuſtice, for we are both unthankful for the time we had it, and not honeſt enough to reſtore it, if we could keep it.

40. But it is hard for us to look on things in ſuch a glaſs, and at ſuch a diſtance from this low world; and yet it is our duty, and would be our wiſdom and our glory, to do ſo.

41. CENSORIOUSNESS.] We are apt to be very pert at cenſuring others, where we will not endure advice ourſelves. And nothing ſhews our weakneſs more, than to be ſo ſharp-ſighted at ſpying other mens faults, and ſo purblind about our own.

42. When the actions of a neighbour are upon the ſtage, we can have all our wits about us, are ſo quick and critical we can ſplit an hair, and find out every failure and infirmity: but are without *feeling*, or have but very little *ſenſe* of our own.

43. Much of this comes from ill-nature, as well as from an inordinate value of ourſelves: for we love rambling better than home; and blaming the unhappy, rather than covering and relieving them.

44. In ſuch occaſions, ſome ſhew their malice, and are witty upon misfortunes; others their juſtice, they can reflect apace; but few or none their charity; eſpecially if it be about money-matters.

45. You ſhall ſee an old miſer come forth with a ſet gravity, and ſo much ſeverity againſt the diſtreſſed, to excuſe his purſe, that he will, ere he has done, put it out of all queſtion, That RICHES is *righteouſneſs* with him. 'This,' ſays he, 'is the fruit of your *prodigality*, '(as if, poor man, *covetouſneſs* were no fault) or, of 'your *projects*, or graſping after a great *trade*:' while he himſelf would have done the ſame thing, but that he had not the courage to venture ſo much ready money out of *his own truſty hands*, though it had been to have brought

brought him back the Indies in return. But the proverb is juſt, "Vice ſhould not correct ſin."

46. They have a right to *cenſure*, that have an heart to *help*: the reſt is cruelty, not juſtice.

47. BOUNDS *of* CHARITY.] Lend not beyond thy ability, nor refuſe to lend out of thy ability; eſpecially when it will help others *more* than it can hurt *thee*.

48. If thy debtor be honeſt and capable, thou haſt thy money again, if not with increaſe, with praiſe: if he prove inſolvent, do not ruin him to get that, which it will *not* ruin thee to *loſe*: for thou art but a ſteward, and another is thy owner, maſter, and judge.

49. The more merciful acts thou doſt, the more mercy thou wilt receive: and if with a charitable employment of thy temporal riches, thou gaineſt eternal treaſure, thy purchaſe is infinite: thou wilt have found the art of multiplying indeed.

50. FRUGALITY *or* BOUNTY.] Frugality is good, if liberality be joined with it. The firſt, is leaving-off ſuperfluous expences; the laſt, beſtowing them to the benefit of others that need. The firſt without the laſt begins covetouſneſs; the laſt without the firſt, begins prodigality: both together make an excellent temper. Happy the place where that is found.

51. Were it univerſal, we ſhould be cured of two extremes, *want* and *exceſs*: and the one would ſupply the other, and ſo bring both nearer to a mean; the juſt degree of earthly happineſs.

52. It is a reproach to religion and government, to ſuffer ſo much poverty and exceſs.

53. Were the ſuperfluities of a nation valued, and made a perpetual tax or benevolence, there would be more alms-houſes than poor; ſchools than ſcholars; and enough to ſpare for government beſides.

54. Hoſpitality is good, if the poorer ſort are the ſubjects of our bounty; elſe too near a ſuperfluity.

55. Dis-

55. DISCIPLINE.] If thou wouldſt be happy and eaſy in thy family, above all things obſerve diſcipline.

56. Every one in it ſhould know their duty; and there ſhould be a time and place for every thing: and whatever elſe is done or omitted, be ſure to *begin* and *end* with God.

57. INDUSTRY.] Love *labour*: for if thou doſt not want it for food, thou mayeſt for *phyſick*. It is wholeſome for thy body, and good for thy mind. It prevents the fruits of idleneſs, which many times comes of nothing to do, and leads too many to do what is worſe than nothing.

58. A garden, an elaboratory, a work-houſe, improvements and breeding, are pleaſant and profitable diverſions to the idle and ingenious: for here they miſs ill company, and converſe with nature and art; whoſe varieties are equally grateful and inſtructing; and preſerve a good conſtitution of body and mind.

59. TEMPERANCE.] To this a ſpare diet contributes much. Eat therefore to live, and do not live to eat. That is like a man, but this below a beaſt.

60. Have wholeſome, but not coſtly food; and be rather cleanly than dainty, in ordering it.

61. The receipts of cookery are ſwelled to a volume; but a good ſtomach excels them all; to which nothing contributes more, than induſtry and temperance.

62. It is a cruel folly, to offer up to oſtentation ſo many lives of creatures, as make up the ſtate of our treats; as it is a prodigal one, to ſpend more in ſauce than in meat.

63. The proverb ſays, 'That enough is as good as a 'feaſt:' but it is certainly *better*, if ſuperfluity be a fault; which never fails to be at feſtivals.

64. If thou riſe with an appetite, thou art ſure never to ſit down without one.

65. Rarely drink but when thou art *dry*; nor then, between meals, if it can be avoided.

66. The

66. The ſmaller the drink the clearer the head, and the cooler the blood; which are great benefits in temper and buſineſs.

67. Strong liquors are good at *ſome* times, and in *ſmall* proportions; being better for phyſick, than food; for cordials, than common uſe.

68. The moſt *common* things are the moſt *uſeful*: which ſhews both the wiſdom and goodneſs of the great LORD of the family of the world.

69. What, therefore, he has made *rare*, do not thou uſe too commonly; leſt thou ſhouldeſt invert the uſe and order of things, become wanton and voluptuous, and thy bleſſings prove a curſe.

70. "Let nothing be loſt," ſaid our Saviour: but that is *loſt* that is *miſuſed*.

71. Neither urge another to that thou wouldeſt be unwilling to do thyſelf; nor do thyſelf what looks to thee unſeemly and intemperate in another.

72. All exceſs is ill; but drunkenneſs is of the worſt ſort: it ſpoils health, diſmounts the mind, and unmans men: it reveals ſecrets, is quarrelſome, laſcivious, impudent, dangerous and mad: in fine, he that is drunk is not a *man*; becauſe he is ſo long void of *reaſon*, that diſtinguiſhes a man from a beaſt.

73. APPAREL.] *Exceſs* in apparel is another coſtly folly: the very trimming of the *vain* world would clothe all the *naked one*.

74. Chuſe thy clothes by thine *own* eyes, not another's. The more plain and ſimple they are, the better: neither *unſhapely*, nor *fantaſtical*; and for uſe and decency, and not for pride.

75. If thou art clean and warm, it is ſufficient; for more doth but rob the poor, and pleaſe the wanton.

76. It is ſaid of the true church, "The king's daughter is all glorious *within*:" let our care, therefore, be of our *minds*, more than of our bodies, if we would be of her communion.

77. We are told, with truth, 'That meekneſs and 'modeſty are the rich and charming attire of the ſoul:'

and

and the plainer the dreſs, the more diſtinctly, and with greater luſtre, their beauty ſhines.

78. It is great pity ſuch beauties are ſo rare, and thoſe of *Jezebel*'s forehead are ſo common: whoſe dreſſes are incentives to luſt; but bars, inſtead of motives, to love or virtue.

79. RIGHT MARRIAGE.] Never marry but for love: but ſee that thou loveſt what is lovely.

80. If love be not thy chiefeſt motive, thou wilt ſoon grow weary of a married ſtate, and ſtray from thy promiſe, to ſearch out thy pleaſures in forbidden places.

81. Let not enjoyment leſſen, but augment affection: it being the baſeſt of paſſions to *like*, when we *have not*, what we *ſlight* when we *poſſeſs*.

82. It is the difference between luſt and love, that this is *fixed*, that *volatile*. Love *grows*, luſt *waſtes*, by enjoyment: and the reaſon is, that one ſprings from an union of *ſouls*, and the other ſprings from an union of *ſenſe*.

83. They have divers originals, and ſo are of different families: that inward and deep; this ſuperficial: this tranſient, and that permanent.

84. They that marry for *money*, cannot have the true ſatisfaction of marriage; the requiſite means being wanting.

85. Men are generally more careful of the breed of their horſes and dogs, than of their children.

86. *Thoſe* muſt be of the beſt ſort, for ſhape, ſtrength, courage, and good conditions: but as for *theſe*, their own poſterity, *money* ſhall anſwer all things. With ſuch, it makes the *crooked* ſtraight, ſets *ſquint-eyes* right, cures *madneſs*, covers *folly*, changes *ill conditions*, mends the *ſkin*, gives a *ſweet breath*, repairs *honours*, makes *young*, works *wonders*.

87. O how *ſordid* is *man* grown! Man, the nobleſt creature of the world, as a *God* on *earth*, and the image of him that made it; thus to miſtake *earth* for *heaven*, and worſhip *gold* for God!

88. AVARICE.] *Covetouſneſs* is the *greateſt of monſters*, as well as the *root of all evil*. I have once ſeen the man that *died to ſave charges! What! Give ten ſhillings to a doctor, and have an apothecary's bill beſides, that may come to I know not what! No*, not he: valuing life leſs than *twenty ſhillings*. But, indeed, ſuch a man *could not*, well, ſet too *low* a price upon himſelf; who though he lived up to the chin in bags, had rather *die* than find in his heart to open *one* of them, to help to ſave his *life*.

89. Such a man is *felo de ſe*, and deſerves not *Chriſtian burial*.

90. He is a common *nuiſance*, a *weyer* croſs the ſtream, that ſtops the current: an *obſtruction*, to be removed by a purge of the *law*. The only gratification he gives his neighbours, is to let them ſee that he *himſelf* is as little the better for what he has, as *they* are. For he always looks like *lent*; a ſort of *lay-minim*. In ſome ſenſe he may be compared to *Pharoah*'s *lean kine*; for all that he has, does him no good. He commonly wears his clothes till they leave *him*, or that nobody elſe can wear them. He affects to be thought *poor*, to eſcape *robbery* and *taxes*; and, by *looking* as if he *wanted* an alms, excuſe himſelf from *giving* any. He ever goes *late* to markets, to cover buying the *worſt*: but does it becauſe that is *cheapeſt*. He lives of the *offal*. His life were an inſupportable puniſhment, to any temper but his own: and no greater torment to him on earth, than to live as *other* men do. But the miſery of his pleaſure is, that he is *never ſatisfied* with *getting*, and always in *fear of loſing* what he cannot *uſe*.

91. How vilely he has loſt himſelf, that becomes a *ſlave* to his ſervant, and exalts him to the dignity of his Maker! *gold* is the *god*, the *wife*, the *friend*, of the *money-monger* of the world. But in

92. MARRIAGE.] Do thou be wiſe: prefer the *perſon* before *money*, *virtue* before *beauty*, the *mind* before the *body*: then thou haſt a *wife*, a *friend*, a *companion*, a *ſecond-ſelf*; one that bears an equal ſhare with thee, in all thy toils and troubles.

93. Chuſe

93. Chuſe one that meaſures her ſatisfaction, ſafety, and danger, by *thine*; and of whom thou art *ſure*, as of thy ſecreteſt thoughts: a *friend*, as well as a wife; which, indeed, a *wife implies*: for ſhe is but *half* a wife that is not, or is not capable of being, *ſuch* a friend.

94. *Sexes* make no difference; ſince in *ſouls* there is none: and *they* are the ſubjects of *friendſhip*.

95. He that minds a *body*, and not a *ſoul*, has not the *better* part of that relation; and will conſequently want the nobleſt comfort of a married life.

96. The ſatisfaction of our *ſenſes* is *low*, *ſhort*, and *tranſient*: but the *mind* gives a more *raiſed* and *extended* pleaſure, and is capable of an happineſs founded upon *reaſon*; not bounded and limited by the circumſtances that *bodies* are confined to.

97. *Here* it is we ought to ſearch out our pleaſure, where the field is large, and full of variety, and of an enduring nature: ſickneſs, poverty, or diſgrace, being not able to *ſhake* it, becauſe it is not under the moving influences of worldly contingencies.

98. The ſatisfaction of thoſe that do ſo, is in *well-doing*, and in the *aſſurance* they have of a future reward: that they are *beſt* loved of thoſe they love *moſt*, and that they enjoy and value the liberty of their *minds* above that of their bodies; having the *whole creation* for their proſpect; the moſt *noble* and *wonderful works* and *providences* of God, the *hiſtories* of the *ancients*, and in them the *actions* and *examples* of the virtuous; and laſtly, *themſelves*, their *affairs*, and *family*, to exerciſe their minds and friendſhip upon.

99. Nothing can be more entire and without reſerve; nothing more zealous, affectionate and ſincere; nothing more contented and conſtant, than ſuch a couple; nor no greater temporal felicity than to be *one of them*.

100. Between a man and his wife, nothing ought to rule but *love*. Authority is for *children* and *ſervants*; yet not without ſweetneſs.

101. As love ought to bring them together, ſo it is the beſt way to keep them *well* together.

102. Wherefore uſe her not as a *ſervant*, whom thou wouldſt, perhaps, have *ſerved* ſeven years to have obtained.

103. An huſband and wife that *love* and *value* one another, ſhew their children and ſervants that *they* ſhould do ſo too. *Others*, viſibly *loſe* their *authority* in their families, by their *contempt* of one another; and teach their children to be *unnatural*, by their own *examples*.

104. It is a general fault, not to be more careful to preſerve *nature* in children; who, at leaſt in the ſecond deſcent, hardly have the *feeling* of their *relation*: which muſt be an unpleaſant reflection to affectionate parents.

105. Frequent *viſits*, *preſents*, intimate *correſpondence*, and *intermarriages* within allowed bounds, are means of keeping up the concern and affection that *nature* requires from relations.

106. FRIENDSHIP.] *Friendſhip* is the next pleaſure we may hope for: and where we find it not at home, or have no home to find it in, we may ſeek it abroad. It is an union of *ſpirits*, a marriage of *hearts*, and the bond thereof *virtue*.

107. There can be no *friendſhip* where there is no *freedom*. Friendſhip loves a free air, and will not be penned up in ſtraight and narrow incloſures. It will ſpeak freely, and act ſo too; and take nothing *ill*, where no ill is *meant*; nay, where it is, it will eaſily *forgive*, and *forget* too, upon *ſmall* acknowledgments.

108. Friends are true *twins* in ſoul; they *ſympathize* in every thing, and have the *ſame* love and averſion.

109. One is not happy without the other; nor can either of them be miſerable alone. As if they could change bodies, they take their turns in pain as well as in pleaſure; relieving one another in their moſt adverſe conditions.

110. What one enjoys, the other cannot want. Like the primitive Chriſtians, they have all things in common, and no property, but in one another.

111. QUALITIES *of a* FRIEND.] A true friend unbosoms freely, adviſes juſtly, aſſiſts readily, adventures boldly, takes all patiently, defends courageouſly, and continues a friend unchangeably.

112. Theſe being the qualities of a friend, we are to find them, before we chuſe one.

113. The covetous, the angry, the proud, the jealous, the talkative, cannot but make *ill* friends, as well as *falſe*.

114. In ſhort, chuſe a friend as thou doſt a wife, 'till death ſeparate you.'

115. Yet be not a friend beyond the altar: but let virtue bound thy friendſhip: elſe it is not friendſhip, but an evil confederacy.

116. If my brother, or kinſman, will be my friend, I ought to prefer him before a ſtranger; or I ſhew little duty or nature to my parents.

117. And as we ought to prefer our kindred in point of affection, ſo too in point of charity, if equally needing and deſerving.

118. CAUTION *and* CONDUCT.] Be not eaſily acquainted; leſt, finding reaſon to cool, thou makeſt an enemy, inſtead of a good neighbour.

119. Be reſerved, but not *ſour*; grave, but not *formal*; bold, but not *raſh*; humble, but not *ſervile*; patient, not *inſenſible*; conſtant, not *obſtinate*; cheerful, not *light*; rather ſweet, than *familiar*; familiar, than *intimate*; and intimate with very few, and upon very good grounds.

120. Return the civilities thou receiveſt; and be ever grateful for favours.

121. REPARATION.] If thou haſt done an injury to another, rather own it, than defend it. One way thou gaineſt forgiveneſs; the other, thou doubleſt the wrong and reckoning.

122. Some oppoſe honour to ſubmiſſion: but it can be no honour to maintain, what it is diſhonourable to do.

123. To confeſs a fault that is none, out of fear, is indeed mean: but not to be afraid of ſtanding in one, is brutiſh.

124. We ſhould make more haſte to *right* our neighbour, than we do to *wrong* him; and inſtead of being vindictive, we ſhould leave him to judge of his own ſatisfaction.

125. True honour will pay treble damages, rather than juſtify one wrong by another.

126. In ſuch controverſies, it is but too common for ſome to ſay, 'Both are to blame,' to excuſe their own unconcernedneſs; which is a baſe neutrality! Others will cry, 'They are both alike;' thereby involving the injured with the guilty, to mince the matter for the faulty, or cover their own injuſtice to the wronged party.

127. Fear and gain, are great perverters of mankind; and where either prevails, the judgment is violated.

128. RULES *of* CONVERSATION.] Avoid company, where it is not profitable or neceſſary: and in thoſe occaſions, ſpeak little, and laſt.

129. Silence is wiſdom, where ſpeaking is folly, and always ſafe.

130. Some are ſo fooliſh, as to interrupt and anticipate thoſe that ſpeak, inſtead of hearing and thinking before they anſwer: which is uncivil, as well as filly.

131. If thou thinkeſt twice, before thou ſpeakeſt once, thou wilt ſpeak twice the better for it.

132. Better ſay nothing, than not to the purpoſe. And to ſpeak pertinently, conſider both what is fit, and when it is fit, to ſpeak.

133. In all debates, let truth be thy aim; not victory, or an unjuſt intereſt: and endeavour to gain, rather than to expoſe, thy antagoniſt.

134. Give no advantage in argument, nor loſe any that is offered. This is a benefit which ariſes from temper.

135. Do

135. Do not uſe thyſelf to diſpute againſt thine own judgment, to ſhew *wit*, leſt it prepare thee to be too indifferent about what is *right*: nor againſt another man, to *vex* him, or for mere trial of *ſkill*; ſince to *inform*, or to be *informed*, ought to be the end of all conferences.

136. Men are too apt to be more concerned for their credit, than for the cauſe.

137. ELOQUENCE.] There is a truth and beauty in rhetorick; but it oftener ſerves *ill* turns than good ones.

138. Elegancy is a good *mien* and *addreſs* given to matter, be it by proper, or by figurative ſpeech: where the words are apt, and alluſions very natural, certainly it has a moving grace: but it is too artificial for ſimplicity, and oftentimes for truth. The danger is, leſt it delude the weak; who, in ſuch caſes, may miſtake the handmaid for the miſtreſs, if not error for truth.

139. It is certain, truth is leaſt indebted to it, becauſe ſhe has leaſt need of it, and leaſt uſes it.

140. But it is a reproveable delicacy, in them that deſpiſe truth in plain clothes.

141. Such luxuriants have but *falſe* appetites; like thoſe gluttons, that by ſauces *force* them, where they have no ſtomach, and ſacrifice to their palate, not their health: which cannot be, without great vanity; nor that, without ſome *ſin*.

142. TEMPER.] Nothing does reaſon more right, than the coolneſs of thoſe that offer it: for truth often ſuffers more by the heat of its defenders, than from the arguments of its oppoſers.

143. *Zeal* ever follows an appearance of truth; and the aſſured are too apt to be too warm: but it is their weak ſide in argument; zeal being better ſhewn againſt *ſin*, than perſons, or their miſtakes.

144. TRUTH.] Where thou art obliged to ſpeak, be ſure to ſpeak the truth: for equivocation is *half-way* to lying; as lying, the *whole way* to *hell.*

145. JUSTICE.] Believe nothing againſt another, but upon good authority: nor report what may hurt another, unleſs it be a *greater* hurt to others to conceal it.

146. SECRECY.] It is wiſe not to *ſeek* a ſecret; and honeſt, not to *reveal* one.

147. Only truſt thyſelf, and another ſhall not betray thee.

148. Openneſs has the miſchief, though not the malice, of treachery.

149. COMPLACENCY.] Never aſſent merely to pleaſe others. For that is, beſide flattery, oftentimes untruth; and diſcovers a mind liable to be ſervile and baſe: nor contradict to vex others; for that ſhews an ill temper, and provokes, but profits no body.

150. SHIFTS.] [Do not accuſe others to excuſe thyſelf; for that is neither generous nor juſt. But let ſincerity and ingenuouſneſs be thy refuge, rather than craft and falſhood: for *cunning* borders very near upon *knavery.*

151. *Wiſdom* never uſes nor wants it. *Cunning* to *wiſe,* is an ape to a man.

152. INTEREST.] Intereſt has the *ſecurity,* though not the *virtue,* of a principle. As the world goes, it is the ſurer ſide: for men daily leave both relations and religion to follow it.

153. It is an odd ſight, but very evident, that families and nations, of croſs religions and humours, unite againſt thoſe of their own, where they find an *intereſt* to do it.

154. We are tied down by our *ſenſes* to this *world*; and where *that* is in queſtion, it can be none with worldly

worldly men, whether they ſhould not forſake all other conſiderations for it.

155. INQUIRY.] Have a care of *vulgar errors*, diſlike, as well as allow, *reaſonably*.

156. Inquiry is *human*; blind obedience, *brutal*. Truth never *loſes* by the one, but often *ſuffers* by the other.

157. The *uſefulleſt* truths are *plaineſt*: and while we keep to them, our differences cannot riſe high.

158. There may be *wantonneſs* in ſearch, as well as a *ſtupidity* in truſting. It is great wiſdom equally to avoid the extremes.

159. RIGHT-TIMING.] Do nothing *improperly*. Some are witty, kind, cold, angry, eaſy, ſtiff, jealous, careleſs, cautious, confident, cloſe, open, but all in the *wrong* place.

160. It is ill miſtaking, where the matter is of importance.

161. It is not enough that a thing be *right*, if it be not *fit* to be done. If not *prudent*, though juſt, it is not *adviſeable*. He that loſes by getting, had better loſe than get.

162. KNOWLEDGE.] Knowledge is the *treaſure*, but judgment the *treaſurer*, of a wiſe man.

163. He that has more knowledge than judgment, is made for another man's uſe, more than his own.

164. It cannot be a good conſtitution, where the appetite is great, and the digeſtion weak.

165. There are ſome men like *dictionaries*: to be looked into upon occaſion; but have no connection, and are little entertaining.

166. Leſs knowledge than judgment, will always have the advantage upon the *injudicious* knowing man.

167. A wiſe man makes what he learns his own; the other ſhews he is but a copy, or a collection at moſt.

168. WIT.

168. WIT.] Wit is an happy and ſtriking way of expreſſing a thought.

169. It is not often, though it be lively and mantling, that it carries a great body with it.

170. Wit, therefore, is fitter for diverſion than buſineſs, being more grateful to fancy than judgment.

171. Leſs judgment than wit, is more *ſail* than *ballaſt*.

172. Yet it muſt be confeſſed, that wit gives an edge to ſenſe, and recommends it extremely.

173. Where judgment has wit to expreſs it, there is the beſt orator.

174. OBEDIENCE *to* PARENTS.] If thou wouldſt be *obeyed*, being a father; being a ſon, be *obedient*.

175. He that begets thee, *owns* thee; and has a natural right over thee.

176. Next to God, thy *parents*; next them, the *magiſtrate*.

177. Remember that thou art not more indebted to thy parents for thy *nature*, than for their *love* and *care*.

178. Rebellion, therefore, in children, was made *death* by God's law, and in the people, the next ſin to *idolatry*; which is *renouncing* of God, the great *Parent* of all.

179. Obedience to parents is not only our duty, but our *intereſt*. If we received our *life* from them, we *prolong* it by obeying them: for *obedience* is the firſt commandment with *promiſe*.

180. The *obligation* is as indiſſoluble as the *relation*.

181. If we muſt not diſobey *God* to obey *them*, at leaſt we muſt let them ſee, that there is *nothing elſe* in our refuſal. For *ſome* unjuſt commands cannot excuſe the *general* neglect of our duty. They will be our parents, and we muſt be their children ſtill: and if we cannot act for them againſt God, neither can we act againſt them for ourſelves, or any thing elſe.

182. BEARING.] A man in buſineſs muſt put up many affronts, if he loves his own quiet.

183. We

183. We muſt not pretend to ſee all that we ſee, if we would be *eaſy*.

184. It were endleſs to diſpute upon every thing that is diſputable.

185. A *vindictive* temper is not only uneaſy to *others*, but to them that have it.

186. PROMISING.] *Rarely* promiſe. But, if lawful, *conſtantly* perform.

187. Haſty reſolutions are of the nature of *vows*; and to be equally avoided.

188. 'I will never do this,' ſays one, yet *does* it: 'I am reſolved to do that,' ſays another; but *flags* upon ſecond thoughts: or does it, though aukwardly, for his word's ſake: as if it were *worſe* to break his word, than to do *amiſs* in keeping it.

189. Wear none of *thine own* chains; but keep free, whilſt thou art free.

190. It is an effect of paſſion, that wiſdom corrects, to lay thyſelf under reſolutions that cannot be well made, and worſe performed.

191. FIDELITY.] Avoid all thou canſt being *intruſted:* but do thy *utmoſt* to diſcharge the truſt thou undertakeſt: for careleſſneſs is injurious, if not unjuſt.

192. The glory of a ſervant is *fidelity*; which cannot be without diligence, as well as truth.

193. Fidelity has enfranchiſed ſlaves, and adopted ſervants to be ſons.

194. Reward a good ſervant well: and rather quit, than diſquiet thyſelf with, an ill one.

195. MASTER.] Mix *kindneſs* with authority; and rule more by *diſcretion* than rigour.

196. If thy ſervant be faulty, ſtrive rather to convince him of his error, than diſcover thy paſſion: and when he is ſenſible, *forgive* him.

197. Remember he is thy *fellow-creature*; and that God's *goodneſs*, not thy *merit*, has made the difference betwixt thee and him.

198. Let

198. Let not thy children *domineer* over thy ſervants: nor ſuffer them to *ſlight* thy children.

199. Suppreſs tales in the general: but where a matter requires notice, encourage the complaint, and right the aggrieved.

200. If a child, he ought to *intreat*, and not to command: and if a ſervant, to *comply*, where he does not obey.

201. Though there ſhould be but one maſter and miſtreſs in a family, yet ſervants ſhould know that children have the *reverſion*.

202. SERVANT.] Indulge not unſeemly things in thy maſter's children, nor refuſe them what is fitting: for one is the higheſt *unfaithfulneſs*; and the other, *indiſcretion*, as well as *diſreſpect*.

203. Do thine own work, honeſtly and cheerfully: and when that is done, help thy fellow; that ſo another time he may help thee.

204. If thou wilt be a *good* ſervant, thou muſt be *true*; and thou canſt not be true, if thou *defraudeſt* thy maſter.

205. A maſter may be defrauded many ways by a ſervant: as in time, care, pains, money, truſt.

206. But, a *true* ſervant is the contrary: he is diligent, careful, truſty. He tells no tales, reveals no ſecrets, refuſes no pains: not to be tempted by *gain*, or awed by *fear*, to *unfaithfulneſs*.

207. Such a ſervant ſerves God, in ſerving his maſter; and has double wages for his work, to wit, *here* and *hereafter*.

208. JEALOUS.] Be not *fancifully* jealous; for that is *fooliſh*: as, to be *reaſonably* ſo, is *wiſe*.

209. He that *ſuperfines* upon other mens actions, cozens himſelf, as well as injures them.

210. To be very ſubtle and ſcrupulous in buſineſs, is as hurtful as being over-confident and ſecure.

211. In difficult caſes, ſuch a temper is timorous; and in diſpatch irreſolute.

212. *Expe-*

212. *Experience* is a ſafe guide; and a *practical* head is a great happineſs in buſineſs.

213. POSTERITY.] We are too careleſs of poſterity; not conſidering that as *they* are, ſo the *next* generation will be.

214. If we would amend the world, we ſhould mend *ourſelves*; and teach our children to be, not what *we* are, but what they *ſhould* be.

215. We are too apt to awaken and tune up their paſſions by the example of our own; and to teach them to be pleaſed, not with what *is* beſt, but with what *pleaſes* beſt.

216. It is our duty, and ought to be our care, to ward againſt that paſſion in *them*, which is more eſpecially *our own* weakneſs and affliction: for we are in great meaſure accountable for them, as well as for ourſelves.

217. We are in this, alſo, true turners of the world upſide down: for money is *firſt*, and virtue *laſt*, and leaſt in our care.

218. It is not *how* we leave our children, but *what* we leave them.

219. To be ſure, virtue is but a *ſupplement*, and not a *principal*, in their portion and character: and therefore we ſee ſo little *wiſdom*, or *goodneſs*, among the rich, in proportion to their wealth.

220. A COUNTRY LIFE.] The country life is to be preferred; for there we ſee the works of *God*; but in *cities*, little elſe but the works of *men*: and the one makes a better ſubject for our contemplation than the other.

221. As puppets are to men, and babies to children, ſo is *man*'s workmanſhip to God's: we are the picture, He the reality.

222. *God*'s works declare his *power*, *wiſdom*, and *goodneſs*: but *man*'s works, for the moſt part, his *pride*, *folly*, and *exceſs*. The one is for *uſe*, the other, chiefly, for *oſtentation* and *luſt*.

223. The

223. The country is both the philoſopher's *garden* and *library*, in which he reads and contemplates the power, wiſdom, and goodneſs of God.

224. It is his food, as well as ſtudy; and gives him life, as well as learning.

225. A ſweet and natural retreat from *noiſe* and *talk*; and allows opportunity for *reflection*, and gives the beſt ſubjects for it.

226. In ſhort, it is an original; and the knowledge and improvement of it, man's oldeſt buſineſs and trade, and the beſt he can be of.

227. ART *and* PROJECT.] *Art* is good, where it is beneficial. Socrates wiſely bounded his knowledge and inſtruction by practice.

228. Have a care, therefore, of *projects*; and yet deſpiſe nothing *raſhly*, or in the *lump*.

229. *Ingenuity*, as well as religion, ſometimes ſuffers between two *thieves*; *pretenders* and *deſpiſers*.

230. Though injudicious and diſhoneſt projectors often diſcredit art; yet the moſt uſeful and extraordinary inventions have not, at firſt, eſcaped the ſcorn of ignorance; as their authors rarely have cracking of their heads, or breaking of their backs.

231. Undertake no experiment in ſpeculation, that appears not *true* in *art*; nor then, at thine own coſt, if coſtly or hazardous in making.

232. As many hands make light work; ſo ſeveral purſes make cheap experiments.

233. INDUSTRY.] Induſtry, is certainly very commendable, and ſupplies the want of parts.

234. Patience and diligence, like *faith*, remove mountains.

235. Never give out while there is hope: but hope not beyond reaſon; for that ſhews more deſire than judgment.

236. It is a profitable wiſdom, to know when we have done enough: much time and pains are ſpared, in not flattering ourſelves againſt probabilities.

237. TEM-

237. TEMPORAL HAPPINESS.] Do *good* with what thou haſt, or it will do thee *no good*.

238. Seek not to be rich, but happy. The one lies in bags, the other in *content*; which wealth can never give.

239. We are apt to call things by wrong names. We will have proſperity to be *happineſs*, and adverſity to be *miſery*; though that is the *ſchool* of *wiſdom*, and oftentimes the *way* to *eternal happineſs*.

240. If thou wouldſt be happy, bring thy mind to thy *condition*, and have an indifferency for more than what is ſufficient.

241. Have but *little to do*, and *do it thyſelf*: and do to *others* as thou wouldſt have them *do to thee*: ſo, thou canſt not fail of temporal felicity.

242. The generality are the worſe for their plenty. The voluptuous conſumes it, the miſer hides it: it is the *good* man that uſes it, and to good purpoſes. But ſuch are hardly found among the proſperous.

243. Be rather bountiful, than expenſive.

244. Neither make nor go to feaſts; but let the laborious poor bleſs thee at home in their ſolitary cottages.

245. Neither voluntarily want what thou haſt in poſſeſſion; nor ſo ſpend it, as to involve thyſelf in want unavoidable.

246. Be not tempted to preſume by ſucceſs: for many that have got largely, have loſt all, by coveting to get more.

247. To hazard much to get much, has more of avarice than wiſdom.

248. It is great prudence, both to *bound* and *uſe* proſperity.

249. Too few know when they have enough; and fewer know how to employ it.

250. It is equally adviſeable not to part lightly with what is hardly gotten, and not to ſhut up cloſely what flows in freely.

251. Act not the ſhark upon thy neighbour; nor take advantage of the ignorance, prodigality, or neceſſity

ceſſity of any one: for that is next door to fraud, and, at beſt, makes but an unbleſſed gain.

252. It is oftentimes the judgment of God upon greedy, rich men, that he ſuffers them to puſh on their deſires of wealth to the exceſs of over-reaching, grinding, or oppreſſion, which poiſons all they have gotten: ſo that it commonly runs away as faſt, and by as bad ways, as it was heaped up together.

253. RESPECT.] Never eſteem any man, or thyſelf, the more for *money*; nor think the meaner of thyſelf or another, for want of it: *virtue* being the juſt reaſon of reſpecting, and the want of it of ſlighting, any one.

254. A man, like a watch, is to be valued for his goings.

255. He that prefers him upon other accounts, bows to an idol.

256. Unleſs virtue guide us, our choice muſt be wrong.

257. An able *bad* man is an ill inſtrument, and to be ſhunned as the plague.

258. Be not deceived with the firſt appearances of things; but give thyſelf time, to be in the right.

259. *Shew* is not ſubſtance: realities govern wiſe men.

260. Have a care, therefore, where there is more ſail than ballaſt.

261. HAZARD.] In all buſineſs, it is beſt to put nothing to hazard: but where it is unavoidable, be not raſh, but firm and reſigned.

262. We ſhould not be troubled for what we cannot help: but if it was our fault, let it be ſo no more. Amendment is repentance, if not reparation.

263. As a deſperate game needs an able gameſter; ſo conſideration often would prevent, what the beſt ſkill in the world cannot recover.

264. Where the probability of advantage exceeds not that of loſs, wiſdom never adventures.

265. To

265. To ſhoot well flying, is well; but to *chuſe* it, has more of vanity than judgment.

266. To be *dextrous* in danger, is a virtue; but to *court* danger to *ſhew* it, is weakneſs.

267. DETRACTION.] Have a care of that baſe evil, detraction. It is the fruit of envy, as that is of pride; the immediate offspring of the devil: who, of an *angel*, a *Lucifer*, a *ſon* of the *morning*, made himſelf a *ſerpent*, a *devil*, a *Beelzebub*, and all that is obnoxious to the *Eternal Goodneſs*.

268. Virtue is not ſecure againſt envy. Men will leſſen, what they will not imitate.

269. Diſlike what *deſerves* it; but never *hate*: for that is of the nature of *malice*; which is almoſt ever to *perſons*, not things; and is one of the blackeſt qualities ſin begets in the ſoul.

270. MODERATION.] It were an happy day, if men could bound and qualify their reſentments with *charity* to the offender: for then, our anger would be without *ſin*, and better convict and edify the guilty; which alone can make it lawful.

271. Not to be *provoked*, is beſt: but if *moved*, never correct till the *fume* is *ſpent*: for every ſtroke our fury ſtrikes, is ſure to hit ourſelves at laſt.

272. If we did but obſerve the allowances our *reaſon* makes upon reflection, when our *paſſion* is over, we could not want a *rule* how to behave ourſelves again on the like occaſions.

273. We are more prone to complain than redreſs, and to cenſure than excuſe.

274. It is next to unpardonable, that we can ſo often *blame* what we will not once *mend*. It ſhews, that we *know*, but will not *do*, our *Maſter's will*.

275. They that *cenſure*, ſhould *practiſe*: or elſe, let them heave the *firſt* ſtone, and the *laſt* too.

276. TRICK.] Nothing *needs* a trick, *but* a trick; ſincerity *loaths* one.

277. We muſt take care to do *right* things *rightly*: for a *juſt* ſentence may be *unjuſtly* executed.

278. *Circumſtances* give great light to true judgment, if well weighed.

279. PASSION.] Paſſion is a ſort of *fever* in the *mind*, which ever leaves us *weaker* than it found us.

280. But being intermitting, to be ſure it is curable with care.

281. It more than any thing deprives us of the uſe of our *judgment*; for it raiſes a duſt very hard to ſee through.

282. Like wine, whoſe lees fly up, being jogged, it is too muddy to drink.

283. It may not unfitly be termed the *mob* of the *man*, that commits a *riot* upon his *reaſon*.

284. I have oftentimes thought, that a paſſionate man is like a weak ſpring, that cannot ſtand long locked.

285. And it is as true, that thoſe things are unfit for uſe, that cannot bear ſmall knocks without breaking.

286. He that will not *bear*, cannot *judge*; and he that cannot bear contradiction, may, with all his wit, miſs the mark.

287. Objection and debate ſift out truth; which needs temper, as well as judgment.

288. But, above all, obſerve it in reſentments; for there paſſion is moſt extravagant.

289. Never chide for anger, but inſtruction.

290. He that corrects out of paſſion, raiſes revenge ſooner than repentance.

291. It has more of wantonneſs than wiſdom; and reſembles thoſe that eat to pleaſe their palate, rather than their appetite.

292. It is the difference between a wiſe and a weak man; *this* judges by the lump; *that*, by parts and their connection.

293. The Greeks uſed to ſay, All caſes are governed by their circumſtances. The ſame thing may be well and ill, as *they* change or vary the matter.

294. A man's ſtrength is ſhewn by his bearing. *Bonum agere, & male pati, regis eſt.*

295. PERSONAL CAUTIONS.] Reflect without malice, but never without need.

296. Deſpiſe no body, nor no condition; leſt it come to be thine own.

297. Never rail, nor taunt. The one is rude, the other is ſcornful; and both evil.

298. Be not provoked by injuries, to *commit* them.

299. Upbraid only ingratitude.

300. Haſte makes work, which caution prevents.

301. Tempt no man; leſt thou fall for it.

302. Have a care of preſuming upon after-games: for if that miſs, all is gone.

303. Opportunities ſhould never be loſt, becauſe they can hardly be regained.

304. It is well to cure, but better to prevent a diſtemper. The firſt ſhews more ſkill, but the laſt more wiſdom.

305. Never make a trial of ſkill in difficult or hazardous caſes.

306. Refuſe not to be informed: for that ſhews pride, or ſtupidity.

307. Humility and knowledge in *poor* clothes, excel pride and ignorance in *coſtly* attire.

308. Neither deſpiſe, nor oppoſe, what thou doſt not underſtand.

309. BALANCE.] We muſt not be concerned above the *value* of the thing that engages us; nor raiſed *above* reaſon, in maintaining what we think *reaſonable*.

310. It is too common an error, to invert the order of things, by making an end of that which is a means, and a means of that which is an end.

311. Religion and government eſcape not this miſchief: the firſt is too often made a *means*, inſtead of an end; the other an *end*, inſtead of a means.

312. Thus men ſeek *wealth*, rather than ſubſiſtence; and the *end* of clothes, is the leaſt reaſon of their *uſe*.

Nor is the ſatisfying of our *appetite* our end in eating, ſo much as the pleaſing of our *palate*. The like may alſo be ſaid of building, furniture, &c. where the *man* rules not the beaſt, and appetite ſubmits not to *reaſon*.

313. It is great wiſdom, to proportion our eſteem to the nature of the thing: for as that way things will not be undervalued, ſo neither will they engage us above their intrinſick worth.

314. If we ſuffer little things to have great hold upon us, we ſhall be as much tranſported for them, as if they deſerved it.

315. It is an old proverb, *Maxima bella ex leviſſimis cauſis*: the greateſt feuds have had the ſmalleſt beginnings.

316. No matter what the *ſubject* of the diſpute be, but what place we give it in our minds. For that governs our concern and reſentment.

317. It is one of the fataleſt errors of our lives, when we ſpoil a good cauſe by an ill management: and it is not impoſſible but we may *mean well* in an *ill* buſineſs; but that will not *defend* it.

318. If we are but ſure the end is *right*, we are too apt to gallop over all bounds to compaſs it; not conſidering that lawful ends may be very unlawfully attained.

319. Let us be careful to take juſt ways to compaſs juſt things; that they may laſt in their benefits to us.

320. There is a troubleſome humour ſome men have, that if they may not *lead*, they will not *follow*; but had rather a thing were never done, than not done their own way, though otherwiſe very deſirable.

321. This comes of an over-fulneſs of ourſelves, and ſhews we are more concerned for praiſe, than the ſucceſs of what we think a good thing.

322. POPULARITY.] Affect not to be *ſeen*, and men will leſs ſee thy weakneſs.

323. They

323. They that *ſhew* more than they *are*, raiſe an expectation they cannot anſwer; and ſo loſe their credit, as ſoon as they are found out.

324. Avoid popularity. It has many ſnares, and no real benefit to thyſelf; and uncertainty to others.

325. PRIVACY.] Remember the proverb, *Benè qui latuit, benè vixit:* They are happy, that live retiredly.

326. If this be true, princes and their grandees, of all men, are the unhappieſt: for they live leaſt alone: and they that muſt be enjoyed by every body, can never enjoy themſelves as they ſhould.

327. It is the advantage little men have upon them; they can be private, and have leiſure for family comforts, which are the greateſt worldly contents men can enjoy.

328. But they that place pleaſure in greatneſs, ſeek it there: and, we ſee, rule is as much the ambition of ſome natures, as privacy is the choice of others.

329. GOVERNMENT.] Government has many ſhapes: but it is ſovereignty, though not freedom, in all of them.

330. *Rex & tyrannus*, are very differing characters: *one* rules his people by laws, to which they conſent; the other, by his abſolute will and power. That is called freedom; this tyranny.

331. The firſt is endangered by the ambition of the populace, which ſhakes the conſtitution: the other, by an ill adminiſtration, which hazards the tyrant and his family.

332. It is great wiſdom, in princes of both ſorts, not to ſtrain points too high with their people: for whether the people have a right to oppoſe them or not, they are ever ſure to attempt it, when things are carried too far: though the remedy oftentimes proves worſe than the diſeaſe.

333. Happy that king who is great by juſtice, and that people who are free by obedience.

334. Where the ruler is *juſt*, he may be *ſtrict*; elſe it is two to one it turns upon him: and though he ſhould prevail, he can be no gainer, where his people are the loſers.

335. Princes muſt not have paſſions in government, nor reſent beyond intereſt and religion.

336. Where example keeps pace with authority, power hardly fails to be obeyed, and magiſtrates to be honoured.

337. Let the people think they govern, and they will be governed.

338. This cannot fail, if thoſe they truſt, are truſted.

339. That prince who is juſt to them in great things, and humours them oftentimes in ſmall ones, is ſure to have and keep them from all the world.

340. For the people is the politic wife of the prince, that may be better managed by wiſdom, than ruled by force.

341. But where the magiſtrate is partial, and ſerves ill turns, he loſes his authority with the people; and gives the populace opportunity to gratify their ambition: and ſo lays a ſtumbling-block for his people to fall.

342. It is true, that where a ſubject is more popular than the prince, the prince is in danger: but it is as true, that it is his own fault: for nobody has the like means, intereſt or reaſon, to be popular as he.

343. It is an unaccountable thing, that ſome princes incline rather to be feared than loved; when they ſee, that fear does not oftener ſecure a prince againſt the diſſatisfaction of his people, than love makes a ſubject too many for ſuch a prince.

344. Certainly ſervice upon inclination, is like to go farther, than obedience upon compulſion.

345. The Romans had a juſt ſenſe of this, when they placed *optimus* before *maximus*, to their moſt illuſtrious captains and Cæſars.

346. Beſides, experience tells us, that goodneſs raiſes a nobler paſſion in the ſoul, and gives a better ſenſe of duty, than ſeverity.

347. What

347. What did Pharoah get by increaſing the Iſraelites' taſk? Ruin to himſelf in the end.

348. Kings, chiefly in this, ſhould imitate God: their *mercy* ſhould be *above all their works.*

349. The difference between the prince and the peaſant, is in *this* world: but a temper ought to be obſerved by him that has the advantage here, becauſe of the judgment of the *next.*

350. The *end* of every thing ſhould direct the *means:* now that of *government* being the *good* of the *whole,* nothing leſs ſhould be the aim of the prince.

351. As often as rulers endeavour to attain juſt ends by juſt mediums, they are ſure of a quiet and eaſy government; and as ſure of convulſions, where the natures of things are violated, and their order overruled.

352. It is certain, princes ought to have great allowances made them for faults in government; ſince they ſee by *other* people's eyes, and hear by *their* ears. But *miniſters of ſtate,* their immediate confidents and inſtruments, have much to anſwer for, if, to gratify private paſſions, they miſguide the prince to do publick injury.

353. Miniſters of ſtate ſhould undertake their poſts at *their peril.* If princes *over-rule* them, let them ſhew the *law,* and humbly *reſign:* if fear, gain, or flattery prevail, let them anſwer it to the *law.*

354. The prince cannot be preſerved, but where the miniſter is puniſhable: for people, as well as princes, will not endure *imperium in imperio.*

355. If miniſters are weak or ill men, and ſo ſpoil their *places,* it is the *prince's* fault that choſe them: but if their places ſpoil *them,* it is *their own* fault to be made worſe by them.

356. It is but juſt that thoſe that reign by their princes, ſhould ſuffer for their princes: for it is a ſafe and neceſſary maxim, not to ſhift heads in government, while the hands are in being that ſhould anſwer for them.

357. And yet it were intolerable to be a miniſter of ſtate, if every body may be accuſer and judge.

358. Let, therefore, the falſe accuſer no more eſcape an exemplary puniſhment, than the guilty miniſter.

359. For it *profanes* government to have the *credit* of the leading men in it ſubject to *vulgar* cenſure; which is often ill-grounded.

360. The ſafety of a prince, therefore, conſiſts in a well choſen council: and that only can be ſaid to be ſo, where the perſons that compoſe it are qualified for the buſineſs that comes before them.

361. Who would ſend to a taylor to make a lock? Or to a ſmith to make a ſuit of clothes?

362. Let there be *merchants* for trade, ſeamen for the admiralty, *travellers* for foreign affairs, ſome of the *leading men* of the country for home-buſineſs, and *common* and *civil lawyers* to adviſe of legality and right: who ſhould always keep to the ſtrict rules of law.

363. Three things contribute much to ruin government: *looſeneſs*, *oppreſſion*, and *envy*.

364. Where the reins of government are too ſlack, there the manners of the people are corrupted: and that deſtroys induſtry, begets effeminacy, and provokes heaven againſt it.

365. Oppreſſion makes a poor country, and a deſperate people, who always wait an opportunity to change.

366. "He that ruleth over men, muſt be juſt, "ruling in the fear of God," ſaid an old and wiſe king.

367. Envy diſturbs and diſtracts government, clogs the wheels, and perplexes the adminiſtration: and nothing contributes more to this diſorder, than a *partial* diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments in the ſovereign.

368. As it is not reaſonable that men ſhould be *compelled* to ſerve; ſo thoſe that have employments ſhould not be endured to leave them *humouroufly*.

369. Where

369. Where the ſtate intends a man no affront, he ſhould not affront the ſtate.

370. A PRIVATE LIFE.] A private life is to be preferred; the honour and gain of publick poſts bearing no proportion with the comfort of it. The one is free and quiet, the other ſervile and noiſy.

371. It was a great anſwer of the Shunamite woman, "I dwell among *my own* people."

372. They that live of their own, neither need, nor often liſt, to wear the livery of the publick.

373. Their ſubſiſtence is not during *pleaſure*, nor have they patrons to pleaſe or preſent.

374. If they are not advanced, neither can they be diſgraced. And as they know not the ſmiles of majeſty, ſo they feel not the frowns of greatneſs, or the effects of envy.

375. If they want the pleaſures of a court, they alſo eſcape the temptations of it.

376. Private men, in fine, are ſo much their own, that, paying common dues, they are ſovereigns of all the reſt.

377. A PUBLICK LIFE.] Yet the publick muſt and will be ſerved; and they that do it well, deſerve publick marks of honour and profit.

378. To do ſo, men muſt have publick minds, as well as ſalaries; or they will ſerve private ends at the publick coſt.

379. Government can never be well adminiſtered, but where thoſe intruſted make conſcience of well diſcharging their places.

380. QUALIFICATIONS.] Five things are requiſite to a good officer; ability, clean hands, diſpatch, patience, and impartiality.

381. CAPACITY.] He that underſtands not his employment, whatever elſe he knows, muſt be unfit for it; and the public ſuffer by his inexpertneſs.

382. They

382. They that are able, ſhould be juſt too; or the government may be the worſe for their capacity.

383. CLEAN HANDS.] Covetouſneſs in ſuch men prompts them to proſtitute the publick for gain.

384. The taking of a bribe or gratuity, ſhould be puniſhed with as ſevere penalties as the defrauding of the ſtate.

385. Let men have ſufficient ſalaries, and exceed them at their peril.

386. It is a diſhonour to government, that its officers ſhould live of benevolence; as it ought to be infamous for officers to diſhonour the publick, by being twice paid for the ſame buſineſs.

387. But to be paid, and not do buſineſs, is rank oppreſſion.

388. DISPATCH.] Diſpatch is a great and good quality in an officer; where duty, not gain, excites it. But of this too many make their private market, and overplus to their wages. Thus the ſalary is for *doing*, and the bribe for *diſpatching* the buſineſs: as if buſineſs could be *done* before it were *diſpatched:* or they were to be paid apart, one by the government, the other by the party.

389. *Diſpatch* is as much the duty of an officer, as doing; and very much the honour of the government he ſerves.

390. *Delays* have been more injurious than direct *injuſtice.*

391. They too often *ſtarve* thoſe they dare not *deny.*

392. The very winner is made a loſer, becauſe he pays *twice* for his *own*; like thoſe that purchaſe eſtates mortgaged *before* to the *full value.*

393. Our law ſays well, 'To delay *juſtice*, is *injuſtice.*'

394. Not to *have* a right, and not to *come at it*, differs little.

395. Refuſal, or diſpatch, is the duty and wiſdom of a good officer.

396. PATIENCE.] Patience is a virtue every-where; but it ſhines with greateſt luſtre in the men of government.

397. Some are ſo proud or teſty, they will not *hear* what they ſhould *redreſs*.

398. Others ſo weak, they *ſink*, or *burſt*, under the weight of their office, though they can lightly *run away* with the *ſalary* of it.

399. Buſineſs can never be well *done*, that is not well *underſtood*: which cannot be, without patience.

400. It is cruelty, indeed, not to give the unhappy an *hearing*, whom we ought to *help*: but it is the top of oppreſſion, to *brow-beat* the humble and modeſt miſerable, when they ſeek relief.

401. Some, it is true, are unreaſonable in their deſires and hopes: but then we ſhould inform, not rail at and reject them.

402. It is therefore as great an inſtance of wiſdom, as a man in buſineſs can give, to be *patient* under the *impertinences* and *contradictions* that attend it.

403. *Method* goes far to prevent trouble in buſineſs: for it makes the taſk eaſy, hinders confuſion, ſaves abundance of time, and inſtructs thoſe that have buſineſs depending, what to do, and what to hope.

404. IMPARTIALITY.] Impartiality, though it be the laſt, is not the leaſt part of the character of a good magiſtrate.

405. It is noted as a fault, in holy writ, even to regard the *poor* in *judgment*: how much more the *rich*?

406. If our *compaſſions* muſt not ſway us; leſs ſhould our fears, profits, or prejudices.

407. Juſtice is juſtly repreſented blind, becauſe ſhe ſees no difference in the parties concerned.

408. She has but *one ſcale* and *weight*, for rich and poor, great and ſmall.

409. Her ſentence is not guided by the *perſon*, but the *cauſe*.

410. The impartial judge, in judgment, knows nothing but the *law*: the prince, *no more* than the peaſant; his

his kindred, than a ſtranger. Nay, his enemy is ſure to be upon equal terms with his friend, when he is upon the bench.

411. Impartiality is the life of juſtice, as that is of government.

412. Nor is it only a benefit to the ſtate, for private families cannot ſubſiſt comfortably without it.

413. Parents that are *partial*, are ill obeyed by their children; and partial *maſters* not better ſerved by their *ſervants*.

414. Partiality is always indirect, if not diſhoneſt: for it ſhews a bias, where reaſon would have none; if not an injury, which juſtice every where forbids.

415. As it makes favourites without reaſon, ſo it uſes no reaſon in judging of actions: confirming the proverb, 'The crow thinks her own bird the faireſt.'

416. What ſome ſee to be no fault in one, they will have criminal in another.

417. Nay, how ugly do our failings look to us in the perſons of others; which yet we ſee not in ourſelves.

418. And but too common it is, for ſome people not to know their own *maxims* and *principles* in the mouths of other men, when they give occaſion to uſe them.

419. Partiality corrupts our judgment of perſons and things, of ourſelves and others.

420. It contributes more than any thing to factions in the government, and feuds in families.

421. It is a prodigal paſſion, that ſeldom returns till it is hunger-bit, and diſappointments bring it within bounds.

422. And yet we may be indifferent, to a fault.

423. INDIFFERENCY.] Indifference is good in judgment, but bad in relation, and ſtark naught in religion.

424. And even in judgment, our indifferency muſt be to the perſons, not cauſes; for none, to be ſure, is right.

425. NEUTRALITY.] Neutrality is ſomething elſe than indifferency: and yet of kin to it too.

426. A judge ought to be indifferent; and yet he cannot be ſaid to be neutral.

427. The one being to be *even* in judgment, and the other not to *meddle* at all.

428. And where it is lawful, to be ſure, it is beſt to be neutral.

429. He that eſpouſes parties, can hardly divorce himſelf from their fate; and more *fall* with their party, than *riſe* with it.

430. A wiſe neuter joins with neither; but uſes both, as his honeſt intereſt leads him.

431. A *neuter* only has room to be a *peace-maker*: for being of neither ſide, he has the means of mediating a reconciliation of both.

432. A PARTY.] And yet where *right* or *religion* gives a call, a neuter muſt be a coward or an hypocrite.

433. In ſuch caſes, we ſhould never be backward; nor yet miſtaken.

434. When our right or religion is in queſtion, then is the fitteſt time to aſſert it.

435. Nor muſt we always be neutral, where our neighbour is concerned: for though *meddling* is a fault, *helping* is a duty.

436. We have a *call* to do good, as often as we have the *power* and *occaſion*.

437. If heathens could ſay, 'We are not born for 'ourſelves;' ſurely Chriſtians ſhould practiſe it.

438. They are taught ſo by *his* example, as well as doctrine, from whom they have borrowed their name.

439. OSTENTATION.] Do what good thou canſt unknown; and be not vain of what ought rather to be felt than ſeen.

440. The humble, in the parable of the day of judgment, *forgot* their good works, "Lord, when did we ſo and ſo?"

441. He that does good, for good's ſake, ſeeks neither praiſe nor reward, though ſure of both at laſt.

442. COM-

442. COMPLETE VIRTUE.] Content not thyſelf that thou art virtuous in the general: for *one* link being wanting, the chain is defective.

443. Perhaps thou art rather *innocent* than *virtuous*, and oweſt more to thy *conſtitution*, than thy *religion*.

444. *Innocent*, is not to be guilty: but *virtuous*, is to overcome our evil inclinations.

445. If thou haſt not conquered thyſelf in that which is thy *own particular* weakneſs, thou haſt no title to virtue, though thou art free of other mens.

446. For a covetous man to inveigh againſt *prodigality*, an atheiſt againſt *idolatry*, a tyrant againſt *rebellion*, or a liar againſt *forgery*, and a drunkard againſt *intemperance*, is for the pot to call the kettle black.

447. Such reproof would have but little ſucceſs; becauſe it would carry but little authority with it.

448. If thou wouldſt *conquer* thy weakneſs, thou muſt never *gratify* it.

449. No man is *compelled* to evil; his *conſent only* makes it his.

450. It is no ſin to be tempted, but to be overcome.

451. What man, in his right mind, would conſpire his own hurt? Men are beſide themſelves, when they tranſgreſs their convictions.

452. If thou wouldſt not ſin, do not *deſire*; and if thou wouldſt not luſt, do not *embrace* the temptation: no, not *look* at it, nor *think* of it.

453. Thou wouldſt take much pains to ſave thy body: take ſome, prithee, to ſave thy ſoul.

454. RELIGION.] Religion is the *fear* of *God*, and its demonſtration *good works*; and *faith* is the root of both: "For without faith we cannot pleaſe God," nor can we *fear* what we do not *believe*.

455. The devils alſo believe and know abundance: but in this is the difference, their faith works not by love, nor their knowledge by obedience; and therefore they are never the better for them. And if ours be ſuch, we ſhall be of their church, not of Chriſt's: for as the head is, ſo muſt the body be.

456. He

456. He was holy, humble, harmleſs, meek, merciful, &c. when among us; to teach us what we ſhould be, when he was gone: and yet he is among us ſtill, and in us too, a living and perpetual preacher of the ſame grace, by his ſpirit in our conſciences.

457. A miniſter of the goſpel ought to be one of *Chriſt*'s making, if he would paſs for one of Chriſt's miniſters.

458. And if he be one of his making, he knows and does, as well as believes.

459. That miniſter, whoſe life is not the model of his doctrine, is a babbler rather than a preacher, a quack rather than a phyſician of value.

460. Of old time, they were made miniſters by the *Holy Ghoſt*: and the more that is an ingredient now, the fitter they are for that work.

461. Running ſtreams are not ſo apt to corrupt; nor itinerant, as ſettled preachers: but they are not to run before they are ſent.

462. As they freely receive from Chriſt, ſo they give.

463. They will not make that a trade, which they know ought not, in conſcience, to be one.

464. Yet there is no fear of their living, that deſign not to live by it.

465. The humble and true teacher meets with more than he expects.

466. He accounts content with godlineſs great gain, and therefore ſeeks not to make a *gain* of *godlineſs*.

467. As the miniſters of Chriſt are made by him, and are like him, ſo they beget people into the ſame likeneſs.

468. To be like Chriſt, then, is to be a Chriſtian. And regeneration is the only way to the kingdom of God, which we pray for.

469. Let us to-day, therefore, hear his voice, and not harden our hearts; who ſpeaks to us many ways. In the *ſcriptures*, in our *hearts*, by his *ſervants*, and *providences*: and the ſum of all is *holineſs* and *charity*.

470. St. James gives a ſhort draught of the matter, but very full and reaching, "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father, is this, to viſit the

"father-

" fatherleſs and the widows in their affliction, and to " keep themſelves unſpotted from the world." Which is comprized in theſe two words, *charity* and *piety*.

471. They that truly make theſe their *aim*, will find them their *attainment*; and with them, the peace that follows ſo excellent a condition.

472. Amuſe not thyſelf, therefore, with the numerous opinions of the world, nor value thyſelf upon *verbal orthodoxy*, *philoſophy*, or thy *ſkill* in *tongues*, or *knowledge* of the *fathers*; (too much the buſineſs and vanity of the world) but in this rejoice, " That thou " knoweſt God, that is the Lord, who exerciſeth lov- " ing kindneſs, and judgment, and righteouſneſs in " the earth."

473. Public worſhip is very commendable, if well performed. We owe it to God and good example. But we muſt know, that God is not tied to time or place, who is every-where at the ſame time: and this we ſhall know, as far as we are capable, if where-ever we are, our deſires are to be with him.

474. *Serving God*, people generally confine to the *acts* of *publick* and *private worſhip*: and thoſe the more zealous do often repeat, in hopes of acceptance.

475. But if we conſider that God is an *infinite ſpirit*, and, as ſuch, every-where; and that our Saviour has taught us, that he will be worſhipped in *ſpirit* and in *truth*; we ſhall ſee the ſhortneſs of ſuch a notion.

476. For *ſerving God* concerns the frame of our ſpirits, in the whole courſe of our lives; in every occaſion we have, in which we may ſhew our love to his law.

477. For as men in battle are continually in the way of ſhot, ſo we, in this world, are ever within the reach of temptation: and herein do we *ſerve* God, if we *avoid* what we are *forbid*, as well as *do* what he *commands*.

478. God is better ſerved in reſiſting a temptation to evil, than in many formal prayers.

479. This is but twice or thrice a day: but that every hour and moment of the day. So much more is our

continual

continual watch, than our evening and morning devotion.

480. Wouldſt thou, then, ſerve God? Do not that *alone*, which thou wouldſt not that another ſhould *ſee* thee do.

481. Do not take God's name in vain, or diſobey thy parents, or wrong thy neighbour, or commit adultery, even in thine heart.

482. Neither be vain, laſcivious, proud, drunken, revengeful, or angry: nor lie, detract, backbite, overreach, oppreſs, deceive, or betray: but watch vigorouſly againſt all temptations to theſe things; as knowing that God is preſent, the overſeer of all thy ways and moſt inward thoughts, and the avenger of his own law upon the diſobedient, and thou wilt acceptably ſerve God.

483. Is it not reaſon, if we expect the acknowledgments of thoſe to whom we are bountiful, that we ſhould reverently pay ours to God, our moſt munificent and conſtant benefactor?

484. The world repreſents a rare and ſumptuous palace; mankind, the great family in it; and God, the mighty Lord and Maſter of it.

485. We are all ſenſible what a ſtately ſeat it is: the heavens adorned with ſo many glorious luminaries; and the earth with groves, plains, valleys, hills, fountains, ponds, lakes, and rivers; and variety of fruits, and creatures for food, pleaſure, and profit. In ſhort, how noble an houſe he keeps, and the plenty, and variety, and excellency of his table: his orders, ſeaſons, and ſuitableneſs of every time and thing. But we muſt be as ſenſible, or at leaſt ought to be, what careleſs and idle ſervants we are, and how ſhort and diſproportionable our behaviour is to his bounty and goodneſs: how long he bears, how often he reprieves and forgives us: who, notwithſtanding our breach of promiſes, and repeated neglects, has not yet been provoked to break up houſe, and ſend us to ſhift for ourſelves. Should not this great goodneſs raiſe a due ſenſe in us of our undutifulneſs, and a reſolution to alter our courſe, and mend

our manners; that we may be for the future more worthy communicants at our Maſter's good and great table? Eſpecially ſince it is not more certain that we deſerve his diſpleaſure, than that we ſhall feel it, if we continue to be unprofitable ſervants.

486. But though God has repleniſhed this world with abundance of good things for man's life and comfort, yet they are all but imperfect goods. He only is the perfect good to whom they point. But, alas! men cannot ſee him *for* them; though they ſhould always ſee him *in* them.

487. I have often wondered at the unaccountableneſs of man in this, among other things; that though he loves changes ſo well, he ſhould care ſo little to hear or think of his laſt, great, and *beſt* change too, if he pleaſes.

488. Being, as to our bodies, compoſed of *changeable elements*, we, with the world, are made up of and ſubſiſt by *revolution*: but our ſouls being of another and nobler nature, we ſhould ſeek our reſt in a more enduring habitation.

489. The trueſt end of life, is to know the life that *never* ends.

490. He that makes this his care, will find it his crown at laſt.

491. Life, elſe, were a miſery, rather than a pleaſure; a judgment, not a bleſſing.

492. For to know, regret, and reſent; to deſire, hope, and fear *more* than a beaſt, and not live *beyond* him, is to make a man *leſs* than a beaſt.

493. It is the amends of a ſhort and troubleſome life, that *doing well*, and *ſuffering ill*, entitles man to one *longer* and *better*.

494. This ever raiſes the good man's hope, and gives him taſtes beyond the other world.

495. As it is his aim, ſo none elſe can hit the mark.

496. Many make it their ſpeculation, but it is the good man's practice.

497. His

497. His work keeps pace with his life, and ſo leaves nothing to be done when he dies.

498. And he that lives to live for ever, never fears dying.

499. Nor can the means be terrible to him, that heartily believes the end.

500. For though death be a dark paſſage, it leads to immortality; and that is recompence enough for ſuffering of it.

501. And yet faith lights us, even through the grave; being the evidence of things not ſeen.

502. And this is the comfort of the good, that the grave cannot hold them, and that they live as ſoon as they die.

503. For death is no more than a turning of us over from time to eternity.

504. Nor can there be a revolution without it; for it ſuppoſes the diſſolution of one form, in order to the ſucceſſion of another.

505. Death, then, being the way and condition of life, we cannot love to live, if we cannot bear to die.

506. Let us, then, not cozen ourſelves with the ſhells and huſks of things; nor prefer form to power, nor ſhadows to ſubſtance: pictures of bread will not ſatisfy hunger, nor thoſe of devotion pleaſe God.

507. This world is a form; our bodies are forms; and no viſible acts of devotion can be without forms. But yet the leſs form in religion the better, ſince God is a Spirit: for the more *mental* our worſhip, the more *adequate* to the *nature* of *God*; the more *ſilent*, the more ſuitable to the language of a *ſpirit*.

508. Words are for others, not for ourſelves: nor for God, who hears not as *bodies* do, but as *ſpirits* ſhould.

509. If we would know this dialect, we muſt learn of the divine principle *in* us. As we hear the dictates of *that*, ſo God hears *us*.

510. There we may *ſee* him, too, in all his attributes; though but in little, yet as much as we can apprehend or bear: for as he is in *himſelf*, he is in-

comprehenſible, and "dwelleth in that light no eye "can approach." But in his *image* we may behold his glory; enough to exalt our apprehenſions of God, and to inſtruct us in that worſhip which pleaſeth him.

511. Men may tire themſelves in a labyrinth of ſearch, and talk of God; but if we would *know* him *indeed*, it muſt be from the impreſſions we receive of him; and the ſofter our hearts are, the deeper and livelier thoſe will be upon us.

512. If he has made us ſenſible of his juſtice, by his reproof; of his patience, by his forbearance; of his mercy, by his forgiveneſs; of his holineſs, by the ſanctification of our hearts through his Spirit; we have a grounded knowledge of God. This is experience, that ſpeculation; this enjoyment, that report. In ſhort, this is undeniable evidence, with the realities of religion, and will ſtand all winds and weathers.

513. As our faith, ſo our devotoin, ſhould be lively. Cold meat will not ſerve at thoſe repaſts.

514. It is a coal from God's altar muſt kindle our fire: and without fire, true fire, no acceptable ſacrifice.

515. "Open thou my lips, and then," ſaid the royal prophet, "my mouth ſhall praiſe God." But not till then.

516. The preparation of the heart, as well as anſwer of the tongue, is of the Lord: and to have it, our prayers muſt be powerful, and our worſhip grateful.

517. Let us chuſe, therefore, to commune where there is the warmeſt ſenſe of religion; where devotion exceeds formality, and practice moſt correſponds with profeſſion; and where there is, at leaſt, as much charity as zeal: for where this ſociety is to be found, there ſhall we find the church of God.

518. As good, ſo *ill* men, are all of a church; and every body knows who muſt be head of it.

519. The *humble, meek, merciful, juſt, pious*, and *devout* ſouls, are every where of *one religion*; and when death has taken off the maſk, they will know one another,

other, though the diverſe liveries they wear here, make them ſtrangers.

520. *Great allowances* are to be made for *education* and *perſonal weakneſſes:* but it is a rule with me, that man is truly religious, that loves the perſuaſion he is of for the *piety*, rather than the *ceremony* of it.

521. They that have one *end*, can hardly diſagree when they *meet*. At leaſt their concern in the greater, moderates their value and difference about the leſſer things.

522. It is a ſad reflection, that many men hardly have *any religion at all*; and moſt men have none of *their own:* for that which is the religion of their education, and not of their judgment, is the religion of another, and not theirs.

523. To have religion upon authority, and not upon conviction, is like a *finger-watch*, to be ſet forwards or backwards, as he pleaſes that has it in keeping.

524. It is a prepoſterous thing, that men can venture their ſouls, where they will not venture their money: for they will take their *religion* upon truſt, but not truſt a *ſynod* about the *goodneſs* of *half a crown*.

525. They will follow their own judgment when their money is concerned, whatever they do for their ſouls.

526. But, to be ſure, that religion cannot be right, that a man is the *worſe* for having.

527. *No* religion, is better than an *unnatural one*.

528. Grace *perfects*, but never *ſours* or *ſpoils* nature.

529. To be *unnatural* in defence of *grace*, is a contradiction.

530. Hardly any thing looks worſe, than to defend religion by ways that ſhew it has no *credit* with us.

531. A *devout* man is one thing, a *ſtickler* is quite another.

532. When our minds exceed their juſt bounds, we muſt needs diſcredit what we would recommend.

533. To be *furious* in religion, is to be *irreligiouſly* religious.

534. If he, that is without bowels, is not a man; how, then, can he be a Chriſtian.

535. It were better to be of *no* church, than to be bitter for *any*.

536. Bitterneſs comes very near to enmity, and that is *Beelzebub*; becauſe the perfection of wickedneſs.

537. A good end cannot ſanctify evil means; nor muſt we ever do evil, that good may come of it.

538. Some folk think they may *ſcold*, *rail*, *hate*, *rob*, and *kill* too; ſo it be but *for God's ſake*.

539. But nothing in us, *unlike* him, can *pleaſe* him.

540. It is as great preſumption to ſend our *paſſions* upon *God's errands*, as it is to *palliate them* with *God's name*.

541. Zeal dropt in charity, is good; without it, good for *nothing*: for it devours all it comes near.

542. They muſt firſt judge themſelves, that preſume to cenſure others: and ſuch will not be apt to overſhoot the mark.

543. We are too ready to retaliate, rather than forgive, or gain by love and information.

544. And yet we could hurt no man that we believe *loves* us.

545. Let us, then, try what love will do; for if men do once ſee we *love* them, we ſhould ſoon find they would not harm us.

546. Force may ſubdue, but love gains: and he that forgives *firſt*, wins the laurel.

547. If I am *even* with my enemy, the debt is paid: but if I *forgive* it, I oblige him for ever.

548. Love is the hardeſt leſſon in Chriſtianity; but, for that reaſon, it ſhould be moſt our care to learn it. *Difficilia quæ pulchra.*

549. It is a ſevere rebuke upon us, that God makes *us* ſo many allowances, and we make ſo few to our *neighbour*: as if *charity* had nothing to do with *religion*; or *love* with *faith*, that ought to work by it.

550. I find all ſorts of people *agree*, whatſoever were their animoſities, when humbled by the approaches of death: then they *forgive*, then they *pray for*, and *love* one

one another: which ſhews us, that it is not our reaſon, but our paſſion, that makes and holds up the feuds that reign among men in their health and fulneſs. They therefore, that live neareſt to that which they ſhould die, muſt certainly live beſt.

551. Did we believe a final reckoning and judgment, or did we think enough of what we do believe, we would allow more love in religion than we do; ſince *religion itſelf* is nothing elſe but *love* to *God* and *man*.

552. "He that lives in *love* lives in *God*," ſays the beloved diſciple: and, to be ſure, a man can live nowhere *better*.

553. It is moſt reaſonable men ſhould value that benefit which is moſt durable. Now tongues ſhall ceaſe, and prophecy fail, and faith ſhall be conſummated in ſight, and hope in enjoyment; but LOVE *remains*.

554. Love is indeed heaven upon earth; ſince heaven above would not be heaven without it: for where there is not *love*, there is *fear*: but "*perfect* love *caſts* "*out* fear." And yet we naturally *fear moſt* to offend what we *moſt love*.

555. What we love, we will hear; what we love, we will truſt; and what we love, we will ſerve, aye, and ſuffer for too. "If you love me," ſays our bleſſed Redeemer, "keep my commandments." Why? Why then he will love *us*; then we ſhall be his *friends*; then he will ſend us the *Comforter*; then whatever we aſk, we ſhall receive; and then, where *he* is, *we* ſhall be alſo, and that *for ever*. Behold the fruits of *love*, the power, virtue, benefit and beauty of *love!*

556. Love is *above all*; and when it *prevails* in us all, we ſhall all be *lovely*, and in *love* with *God*, and *one* with *another*. Amen.

MORE FRUITS OF SOLITUDE:

BEING

THE SECOND PART

Of REFLECTIONS and MAXIMS

ON THE

CONDUCT of HUMAN LIFE.

THE INTRODUCTION TO THE READER.

THE title of this treatiſe ſhews there was a former of the ſame nature; and the author hopes he runs no hazard in recommending both to his reader's peruſal.

He is well aware of the low reckoning the labours of *indifferent* authors are under, at a time when hardly any thing paſſes for current, that is not calculated to *flatter* the ſharpneſs of contending parties. He is alſo ſenſible, that books grow a very drug, where they cannot raiſe and ſupport their credit by their own uſefulneſs; and how far this will be able to do it, he knows not; yet he thinks himſelf tolerably ſafe in making it publick, in three reſpects.

First,

First, That the purchaſe is ſmall, and the time but little, that is requiſite to read it.

Next, Though ſome men ſhould not find it reliſhed high enough for their finer wits, or warmer palates, it may not perhaps be uſeleſs to thoſe of lower flights, and who are leſs engaged in publick heats.

Laſtly, The author honeſtly aims at as general a benefit as the thing will bear: to *youth* eſpecially, whether he hits the mark or not, and that without the leaſt oſtentation, or any private regards.

Let not envy miſ-interpret his intention, and he will be accountable for all other faults.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS

AND

MAXIMS, &c.

PART II.

The right moralist.

1. A RIGHT moraliſt is a great and good man; but for that reaſon, he is rarely to be found.

2. There are a ſort of people that are fond of the character, who, in my opinion, have but little title to it.

3. They think it enough, not to defraud a man of his pay, or betray his friend; but never conſider, that the law forbids the one at his peril, and that virtue is ſeldom the reaſon of the other.

4. But certainly he that covets, can no more be a moral man, than he that ſteals; ſince *he* does ſo in his mind. Nor can he be one that robs his neighbour of his credit, or that craftily undermines him of his trade or office.

5. If a man pays his taylor, but debauches his wife, is he a current moraliſt?

6. But what ſhall we ſay of the man that rebels againſt his father, is an ill huſband, or an abuſive neighbour; one that is laviſh of his time, of his health, and of his eſtate, in which his family is ſo nearly concerned? Muſt he go for a right moraliſt, becauſe he pays his rent well?

7. I would aſk ſome of thoſe men of morals, Whether he that robs God and himſelf too, though he ſhould not defraud his neighbour, be the moral man?

8. Do

8. Do I owe myſelf nothing? And do I not owe all to God? And if paying what we owe, make the moral man, is it not fit we ſhould begin to render our dues where we owe our very beginning; aye, our *all?*

9. The complete moraliſt begins with *God*; he gives him his due, his heart, his love, his ſervice; the bountiful giver of his well-being, as well as being.

10. He that lives without a ſenſe of this dependency and obligation, cannot be a moral man, becauſe he does not know his returns of love and obedience, as becomes an honeſt and a ſenſible *creature:* which very term implies he is not *his own*; and it cannot be very honeſt to miſemploy another's goods.

11. But how can there be no debt, but to a fellow-creature? Or, will our exactneſs in paying thoſe dribbling ones, while we neglect our weightier obligations, cancel the bonds we lie under, and render us right and thorough moraliſts?

12. As *judgments* are paid before *bonds*, and *bonds* before *bills* or *book-debts*; ſo the moraliſt conſiders his obligations according to their ſeveral *dignities*.

In the firſt place, *him* to whom he owes himſelf. Next, *himſelf*, in his health and livelihood. Laſtly, his other obligations, whether *rational* or *pecuniary*; doing to others, to the extent of his ability, as he would have them do unto him.

13. In ſhort, the *moral man* is he that *loves God above all*, and *his neighbour as himſelf*, which fulfils both tables at once.

THE WORLD'S ABLE MAN.

14. It is by ſome thought the character of an able man, to be *dark*, and not *underſtood*. But I am ſure that is not fair play.

15. If he be ſo by *ſilence*, it is better: but if by *diſguiſes*, it is inſincere and hateful.

16. Secrecy is one thing; falſe lights are another.

17. The honeſt man, that is rather free than open, is ever to be preferred; eſpecially when *ſenſe* is at helm.

18. The

18. The glorying of the other humour, is in a vice: for it is not human to be *cold*, *dark*, and *unconverſable*. I was going to ſay, they are like *pick-pockets* in a crowd, where a man muſt ever have his hand on his purſe; or as *ſpies* in a garriſon, that, if not prevented, betray it.

19. They are the reverſe of human nature: and yet this is the preſent world's *wiſe man* and politician: excellent qualities for *Lapland!* where, they ſay, witches, though not many conjurers, dwell.

20. Like *highwaymen*, that rarely rob without *vizards*, or in the ſame wigs and clothes, but have a dreſs for every enterprize.

21. At beſt, he may be a *cunning-man*, which is a ſort of *lurcher* in politicks.

22. He is never too hard for the *wiſe* man upon the ſquare; for that is out of his element, and puts him quite by his ſkill. Nor are wiſe men ever catched by him, but when they *truſt* him.

23. But as *cold* and *cloſe* as he ſeems, he can and will pleaſe all, if he *gets* by it; though it ſhould neither pleaſe God nor himſelf at bottom.

24. He is for every cauſe that brings him gain; but implacable, if diſappointed of ſucceſs.

25. And what he cannot hinder, he will be ſure to ſpoil, by over-doing it.

26. None ſo zealous then as he, for that which he cannot abide.

27. What is it he will not, or cannot do, to hide his true ſentiments!

28. For his intereſt, he refuſes no ſide or party; and will take the wrong by the hand, when the other will not do, with as good a grace as the right.

29. Nay, he commonly chuſes the worſt, becauſe that brings the beſt bribe: his cauſe being ever money.

30. He ſails with all winds, and is never out of his way, where any thing is to be had.

31. A *privateer*, indeed; and every-where a bird of prey.

32. True to nothing, but himſelf, and falſe to all perſons and parties, to ſerve his own turn.

33. Talk

33. Talk with him as often as you pleaſe, he will never pay you in good coin; for it is either falſe or clipped.

34. But to give a *falſe reaſon* for any thing, let my reader never learn of him, no more than to give a braſs half-crown for a good one: not only becauſe it is not *true*, but becauſe it *deceives* the perſon to whom it is given; which I take to be an *immorality*.

35. *Silence* is much more preferable; for it ſaves the ſecret, as well as the perſon's honour.

36. Such as give themſelves the latitude of ſaying what they do not *mean*, come to be *errant-jockeys* at more things than one: but in religion and politicks, it is pernicious.

37. To hear two men talk the reverſe of their own ſentiments, with all the good breeding and appearance of friendſhip imaginable, on purpoſe to *cozen* or *pump* each other, is, to a man of *virtue* and *honour*, one of the melancholieſt, as well as moſt nauſeous things in the world.

38. But that it ſhould be the character of an able man, is to *diſinherit wiſdom*, and paint out our degeneracy to the life, by ſetting up *fraud*, an errant impoſtor, in her room.

39. The trial of ſkill between theſe two is, who ſhall believe leaſt of what the other ſays: and he that has the weakneſs, or good-nature, to give out firſt, (viz. to believe any thing the other ſays) is looked upon to be *tricked*.

40. I cannot ſee the *policy*, any more than the neceſſity, of a man's *mind* always giving the lie to his mouth; or his *mouth* ever giving falſe alarms of his mind: for no man can be long believed, that teaches all men to diſtruſt him: and ſince the ableſt have ſometimes need of credit, where lies the advantage of their politick cant or banter upon mankind?

41. I remember a paſſage of one of queen Elizabeth's great men, as advice to his friend; 'The advantage,' ſays he, 'I had upon others at court, was, that I always 'ſpoke as I *thought*; which being not believed by them,

'I both

'I both preſerved a *good conſcience*, and ſuffered no 'damage from that freedom:' which, as it ſhows the vice to be older than our times, ſo that gallant man's integrity to be the beſt way of avoiding it.

42. To be ſure it is wiſe, as well as honeſt, neither to flatter other mens ſentiments, nor diſſemble, and leſs contradict, our own.

43. To hold one's tongue, or ſpeak truth, or talk only of indifferent things, is the faireſt converſation.

44. Women that rarely go abroad without vizard maſks, have none of the beſt reputation. But when we conſider, what all this art and diſguiſe are for, it equally heightens the wiſe man's wonder and averſion: perhaps it is to betray a father, a brother, a maſter, a friend, a neighbour, or one's own party.

45. A fine conqueſt! what noble Grecians and Romans abhorred: as if government could not ſubſiſt without knavery, and that knaves were the *uſefulleſt* props to it; though the baſeſt, as well as greateſt, perverſions of the ends of it.

46. But that it ſhould become a *maxim*, ſhows but too groſly the corruptions of the times.

47. I confeſs I have heard the ſtile of an *uſeful knave*, but ever took it to be a ſilly or a knaviſh ſaying; at leaſt an excuſe for knavery.

48. It is as reaſonable to think a *whore* makes the *beſt wife*, as a *knave the beſt officer*.

49. Beſides, employing knaves *encourages* knavery, inſtead of puniſhing it; and *alienates* the reward of virtue. Or, at leaſt, muſt make the world believe the country yields not honeſt men enough, able to ſerve her.

50. Art thou a magiſtrate? Prefer ſuch as have clean characters where they live; and of eſtates, to ſecure a juſt diſcharge of their truſts; that are under no temptation to ſtrain points for a fortune: for ſometimes ſuch may be found, ſooner than they are employed.

51. Art thou a private man? Contract thy acquaintance in a narrow compaſs, and chuſe thoſe for the ſubjects of it, that are men of principles; ſuch as will make full ſtops, where honour will not lead them on;

and

and that had rather bear the disgrace of not being *thorough-paced* men, than forfeit their peace and reputation by a base compliance.

The wise man.

52. The wise man governs himself by the reason of his case, and because what he does is best: best, in a moral and prudent, not a sinister sense.

53. He proposes just ends, and employs the fairest and probablest means and methods to attain them.

54. Though you cannot always penetrate his design, or his reasons for it, yet you shall ever see his actions of a piece, and his performances like a workman: they will bear the touch of wisdom and honour, as often as they are tried.

55. He scorns to serve himself by *indirect* means, or to be an interloper in government; since just enterprizes never want any just ways to succeed them.

56. To do evil, that good may come of it, is for *bunglers*, in politicks as well as morals.

57. Like those surgeons, that will *cut off* an arm they cannot *cure*, to hide their ignorance and save their credit.

58. The wise man is cautious, but not cunning; judicious, but not crafty; making virtue the measure of using his excellent understanding in the conduct of his life.

59. The wise man is equal, ready, but not *officious*; has in every thing an eye to *sure-footing*: he offends no body, nor easily is offended; and always willing to *compound* for wrongs, if not *forgive* them.

60. He is never captious, nor critical; hates *banter* and *jests*; he may be pleasant, but not *light*; he never deals but in substantial ware, and leaves the rest for the toy-pates, (or shops) of the world; which are so far from being his business, that they are not so much as his diversion.

61. He is always for some solid good, *civil* or *moral*: as, to make his country more virtuous; preserve her

her peace and liberty; employ her poor; improve land; advance trade; ſuppreſs vice; encourage induſtry, and all mechanick knowledge; and that they ſhould be the care of the government, and the bleſſing and praiſe of the people.

62. To conclude, he is *juſt*, and fears *God*, hates *covetouſneſs*, and eſchews *evil*, and loves his *neighbour* as himſelf.

OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THOUGHTS.

63. Man being made a reaſonable and ſo a *thinking* creature; there is nothing more worthy of his being, than the right direction and employment of his *thoughts*; ſince upon this depends both his uſefulneſs to the publick, and his own preſent and future benefit, in all reſpects.

64. The conſideration of this, has often obliged me to lament the unhappineſs of mankind, that, through too great a *mixture* and *confuſion* of *thoughts*, have been hardly able to make a right or mature judgment of things.

65. To this is owing the various uncertainty and confuſion we ſee in the world, and the intemperate *zeal* that occaſions them.

66. To this, alſo, is to be attributed the imperfect knowledge we have of things, and the ſlow progreſs we make in attaining to a better: like the children of Iſrael, that were forty years upon their journey, from Egypt to Canaan, which might have been performed in leſs than one.

67. In fine, it is to this we ought to aſcribe, if not all, at leaſt moſt of the infelicities we labour under.

68. Clear, therefore, thy *head*, and rally and manage thy thoughts rightly, and thou wilt ſave time, and ſee and do thy buſineſs well; for thy judgment will be *diſtinct*, thy mind *free*, and thy faculties *ſtrong* and *regular*.

69. Always remember to bound thy thoughts to the *preſent* occaſion.

70. If it be thy *religious* duty, ſuffer nothing elſe to ſhare in them. And if any *civil* or *temporal* affair, obſerve the ſame caution, and thou wilt be a *whole* man to every thing, and do twice the buſineſs in the ſame time.

71. If any point *over*-labours thy mind, divert and relieve it by ſome other ſubject, of a more *ſenſible* or *manual* nature, rather than what may affect the *underſtanding:* for this were to write one thing upon another, which blots out our former impreſſions, or renders them illegible.

72. They that are leaſt *divided* in their care, always give the beſt account of their buſineſs.

73. As, therefore, thou art always to purſue the preſent ſubject, till thou haſt maſtered it, ſo if it fall out that thou haſt more affairs than one upon thy hand, be ſure to prefer that which is of moſt moment, and will leaſt wait thy leiſure.

74. He that judges not well of the importance of his affairs, though he may be always buſy, he muſt make but a ſmall progreſs.

75. But make not more buſineſs neceſſary than *is* ſo; and rather leſſen than augment work for thyſelf.

76. Nor yet be *over-eager* in purſuit of any thing; for the mercurial too often happen to leave judgment behind them, and ſometimes make work for repentance.

77. He that over-runs his buſineſs, leaves it for him that follows more leiſurely to take it up; which has often proved a profitable harveſt to them that never ſowed.

78. It is the advantage that *ſlower* tempers have upon the men of *lively* parts, that though they do not *lead*, they will *follow well*, and *glean clean*.

79. Upon the whole matter, employ thy thoughts as thy buſineſs requires, and let that have place according to merit and urgency; giving every thing a review and due digeſtion, and thou wilt prevent many errors and vexations, as well as ſave much time to thyſelf, in the courſe of thy life.

OF ENVY.

80. It is the mark of an *ill* nature, to leſſen *good* actions, and aggravate *ill* ones.

81. Some men do as much begrudge others a good name, as they *want* one themſelves; and perhaps that is the reaſon of it.

82. But certainly they are in the wrong, that can think *they* are leſſened, becauſe others have their due.

83. Such people generally have leſs merit than ambition, that covet the reward of other mens; and, to be ſure, a very ill nature, that will rather rob others of their due, than allow them their praiſe.

84. It is more an error of our *will*, than our judgment: for we know it to be an effect of our *paſſion*, not our reaſon; and therefore we are the more culpable in our partial eſtimates.

85. It is as envious as unjuſt, to under-rate another's actions, where their intrinſick worth recommends them to diſengaged minds.

86. Nothing ſhews more the folly, as well as fraud of man, than clipping of merit and reputation.

87. And as ſome think it an allay to themſelves, that others have their right; ſo they know no end of pilfering, to raiſe their own credit.

88. This envy, is the child of pride; and miſ-*gives*, rather than miſ-*takes*.

89. It will have charity to be oſtentation; ſobriety, covetouſneſs; humility, craft; bounty, popularity. In ſhort, virtue muſt be deſign, and religion, only intereſt. Nay, the beſt of qualities muſt not paſs without a *but* to allay their merit, and abate their praiſe. Baſeſt of tempers! and they that have it, the worſt of men!

90. But juſt and noble minds *rejoice* in other mens ſucceſs, and help to augment their praiſe.

91. And, indeed, they are not without a *love* to virtue, that take a ſatisfaction in ſeeing her *rewarded*;

and ſuch deſerve to *ſhare* her character, that do abhor to *leſſen* it.

Of man's life.

92. Why is man leſs durable than the works of his hands, but becauſe *this is not* the place of his *reſt?*

93. And it is a great and juſt reproach upon him, that he ſhould fix his mind where he cannot ſtay *himſelf.*

94. Were it not more his wiſdom to be concerned about thoſe works that will *go with* him, and erect a manſion for him, where time has power neither over him nor it?

95. It is a ſad thing, for man ſo often to miſs his way to his beſt, as well as moſt laſting home.

Of ambition.

96. They that ſoar too high, often fall hard; which makes a low and level dwelling preferable.

97. The talleſt trees are moſt in the power of the winds; and ambitious men of the blaſts of fortune.

98. They are moſt ſeen and obſerved, and moſt envied: leaſt *quiet*, but moſt *talked of*, and not often to their advantage.

99. Thoſe builders had need of a good foundation, that lie ſo much expoſed to weather.

100. Good works are a rock, that will ſupport their credit: but ill ones a ſandy foundation, that yields to calamities.

101. And truly they ought to expect no pity in their fall, who, when in power, had no bowels for the unhappy.

102. The *worſt* of diſtempers; always craving and thirſty, reſtleſs and hated: a perfect delirium in the mind: inſufferable in ſucceſs, and in diſappointments moſt revengeful.

OF PRAISE OR APPLAUSE.

103. We are apt to *love* praiſe, but not to *deſerve* it.

104. But if we would deſerve it, we muſt love *virtue* more than that.

105. As there is no paſſion in us ſooner moved, or more deceivable, ſo for that reaſon there is none over which we ought to be more *watchful*, whether we give or receive it: for if we give it, we muſt be ſure to mean it, and meaſure it too.

106. If we are penurious, it ſhews emulation; if we exceed, flattery.

107. Good meaſure belongs to good actions; more looks nauſeous, as well as inſincere: beſides, it is a perſecuting of the meritorious, who are out of countenance to *hear*, what they *deſerve*.

108. It is much eaſier for him to *merit* applauſe, than *hear* of it: and he never doubts himſelf more, or the perſon that gives it, than when he hears *ſo much* of it.

109. But, to ſay true, there needs not many cautions on this hand; ſince the world is rarely juſt *enough* to the deſerving.

110. However, we cannot be too circumſpect how we receive praiſe: for if we contemplate ourſelves in a falſe glaſs, we are ſure to be miſtaken about our dues: and becauſe we are too apt to believe what is pleaſing, rather than what is true, we may be too eaſily ſwelled beyond our juſt proportion, by the windy compliments of men.

111. Make ever, therefore, allowances for what is ſaid on ſuch occaſions; or thou expoſeſt, as well as deceiveſt thyſelf.

112. For an over-value of ourſelves, gives us but a dangerous ſecurity in many reſpects.

113. We expect more than belongs to us; take all that is given us, though never meant us; and fall out with thoſe that are not as *full of us* as we are of ourſelves.

114. In ſhort, it is a paſſion that abuſes our judgment, and makes us both unſafe and ridiculous.

115. Be not fond, therefore, of praiſe; but ſeek virtue, that leads to it.

116. And yet no more leſſen or diſſemble thy merit, than over-rate it: for though humility be a virtue, an *affected* one is none.

Of conduct in speech.

117. Inquire *often*, but judge *rarely*, and thou wilt not often be miſtaken.

118. It is ſafer to learn, than teach; and he who conceals his opinion, has nothing to anſwer for.

119. Vanity or reſentment often engage us, and it is two to one but we come off loſers; for one ſhews a want of judgment and humility, as the other does of temper and diſcretion.

120. Not that I admire the reſerved; for they are next to unnatural that are not communicable. But if reſervedneſs be at any time a virtue, it is in throngs, or ill company.

121. Beware alſo of *affectation* in *ſpeech*; it often *wrongs* matter, and ever ſhows a blind ſide.

122. Speak *properly*, and in as *few* words as you can, but always *plainly*: for the end of ſpeech is not oſtentation, but to be *underſtood*.

123. They that affect *words* more than *matter*, will dry up that little they have.

124. *Senſe* never fails to give them that have it, *words enough* to make them underſtood.

125. But it too often happens in ſome converſations, as in *apothecaries-ſhops*, that thoſe pots that are *empty*, or have things of ſmall value in them, are as gaudily *dreſſed* and *flouriſhed*, as thoſe that are full of precious drugs.

126. This labouring of *ſlight matter* with flouriſhed turns of expreſſion, is fulſome; and worſe than the modern imitation of tapeſtry, and Eaſt-India goods, in *ſtuffs*

ſtuffs and *linens*. In ſhort, it is but *taudry* talk, and next to very traſh.

Union of friends.

127. They that love *beyond* the world, cannot be *ſeparated* by it.

128. Death cannot *kill* what *never dies*.

129. Nor can ſpirits ever be *divided*, that love and live in the ſame divine principle; the root and record of their friendſhip.

130. If *abſence* be not death, neither is *theirs*.

131. Death is but croſſing the *world*, as friends do the *ſeas*; they live in *one another* ſtill.

132. For they muſt needs be *preſent*, that love and live in that which is *omnipreſent*.

133. In this divine glaſs, they ſee face to face; and their converſe is *free*, as well as *pure*.

134. This is the comfort of friends, that though they may be ſaid to *die*, yet their friendſhip and ſociety are, in the beſt ſenſe, ever *preſent*, becauſe *immortal*.

Of being easy in living.

135. It is an happineſs to be delivered from a curious mind, as well as from a dainty palate.

136. For it is not only a troubleſome but ſlaviſh thing to be *nice*.

137. They narrow their own freedom and comforts, that make that requiſite to enjoy them.

138. To be *eaſy* in living, is much of the pleaſure of life: but *difficult* tempers will always *want* it.

139. A *careleſs* and *homely* breeding, is therefore preferable to one *nice* and *delicate*.

140. And he that is taught to live upon little, owes more to his father's *wiſdom*, than he that has a great deal left him, does to his father's *care*.

141. Children cannot well be too hardly bred: for beſides that it fits them to bear the roughеſt providences, it is more maſculine, active and healthy.

142. Nay, it is certain, that the liberty of the mind is mightily preſerved by it: for ſo it is *ſerved*, inſtead of being a ſervant, indeed a ſlave, to ſenſual delicacies.

143. As nature is ſoon anſwered, ſo are ſuch ſatisfied.

144. The memory of the ancients is hardly in any thing more to be celebrated; than in a ſtrict and uſeful inſtitution of youth.

145. By labour they prevented luxury in young people, till wiſdom and philoſophy had taught them to reſiſt and deſpiſe it.

146. It muſt be therefore a groſs fault, to ſtrive ſo hard for the pleaſure of our bodies, and be ſo inſenſible and careleſs of the freedom of our ſouls.

Of man's inconſiderateness and partiality.

147. It is very obſervable, if our civil rights are invaded or encroached upon, we are mightily touched, and fill every place with our reſentment and complaint; while we ſuffer ourſelves, our better and nobler ſelves, to be the property and vaſſals of ſin, the worſt of invaders.

148. In vain do we expect to be delivered from ſuch troubles, till we are delivered from the cauſe of them; our diſobedience to God.

149. When he has his dues from us, it will be time enough for him to give us ours out of one another.

150. It is our great happineſs, if we could underſtand it, that we meet with ſuch checks in the career of our worldly enjoyments, leſt we ſhould forget the Giver, adore the gift, and terminate our felicity here, which is not man's ultimate bliſs.

151. Our loſſes are often made *judgments* by our guilt, and *mercies* by our repentance.

152. Beſides, it argues great folly in men, to let their ſatisfaction exceed the *true value* of any temporal matter: for diſappointments are not always to be meaſured by the loſs of the thing, but the *over-value* we put upon it.

153. And

153. And thus men improve their own miſeries, for want of an equal and juſt eſtimate of what they enjoy or loſe.

154. There lies a *proviſo* upon every thing in this world, and we muſt obſerve it at our own peril, viz. *To love God above all*, and act for *judgment*, the *laſt* I mean.

Of the rule of judging.

155. In all things *reaſon* ſhould prevail: it is quite another thing to be *ſtiff* than *ſteady* in opinion.

156. This may be reaſonable, but that is ever *wilful*.

157. In ſuch caſes it always happens, that the clearer the argument, the greater the obſtinacy, where the deſign is not to be convinced.

158. This is to value humour more than truth, and prefer a ſullen pride to a reaſonable ſubmiſſion.

159. It is the glory of a man to vail to truth; as it is the mark of a good nature to be *eaſily* intreated.

160. Beaſts act by ſenſe, man ſhould by *reaſon*; elſe he is a greater beaſt than ever God made: and the proverb is verified, 'The corruption of the beſt things is 'the worſt, and moſt offenſive.'

161. A *reaſonable opinion* muſt ever be in danger, where *reaſon* is not *judge*.

162. Though there is a regard due to education, and the tradition of our fathers, *truth* will ever deſerve, as well as claim, the preference.

163. If, like Theophilus and Timothy, we have been brought up in the knowledge of the beſt things, it is our advantage: but neither they nor we loſe by *trying* the truth; for ſo we learn their, as well as its, *intrinſick worth*.

164. Truth never loſt ground by *inquiry*, becauſe ſhe is, *moſt* of all, *reaſonable*.

165. Nor can that need *another* authority, that is *ſelf-evident*.

166. If my own *reaſon* be on the ſide of a principle, with what can I diſpute or withſtand it?

167. And

167. And if men would once conſider one another *reaſonably*, they would either reconcile their differences, or more amicably maintain them.

168. Let that, therefore, be the ſtandard, that has *moſt to ſay* for itſelf: though of that let *every man* be judge for himſelf.

169. *Reaſon*, like the *ſun*, is *common* to all: and it is for want of *examining* all by the ſame light and meaſure, that we are not all of the ſame mind: for all have it to that end, though all do not *uſe* it ſo.

Of formality.

170. Form is good, but not formality.

171. In the uſe of the *beſt* of forms, there is too much of *that*, I fear.

172. It is abſolutely neceſſary, that this diſtinction ſhould go along with people in their devotion; for too many are apter to reſt upon *what* they do, than *how* they do their duty.

173. If it were conſidered, that it is the *frame* of the *mind* that gives our performances *acceptance*, we would lay more ſtreſs on our inward *preparation* than our outward action.

Of the mean notion we have of God.

174. Nothing more ſhows the low condition man is fallen into, than the unſuitable notion we muſt have of God, by the ways we take to pleaſe him.

175. As if it availed any thing to him, that we performed ſo many *ceremonies* and external *forms* of devotion; who never meant more by them, than to try our obedience, and, through them, to ſhew us ſomething more *excellent* and *durable* beyond them.

176. *Doing*, while we are *undoing*, is good for nothing.

177. Of what benefit is it to ſay our *prayers* regularly, go to *church*, receive the *ſacraments*, and may be go to *confeſſions* too; aye, *feaſt* the prieſt, and give

alms

alms to the poor, and yet *lie*, *ſwear*, *curſe*, be *drunk*, *covetous*, *unclean*, *proud*, *revengeful*, *vain*, and *idle*, at the ſame time?

178. Can one excuſe or balance the other? Or will God think himſelf well ſerved, where his law is *violated*? Or well uſed, where there is ſo much more *ſhew* than ſubſtance?

179. It is a moſt dangerous error, for a man to think to excuſe himſelf in the breach of a moral duty, by a *formal* performance of *poſitive worſhip*; and leſs, when of *human* invention.

180. Our bleſſed Saviour moſt rightly and clearly diſtinguiſhed and determined this caſe, when he told the Jews, 'That they were his *mother*, his *brethren*, and '*ſiſters*, who did the *will* of his Father.'

OF THE BENEFIT OF JUSTICE.

181. Juſtice is a great ſupport of ſociety, becauſe an inſurance to all men of their *property*: this violated, there is no ſecurity, which throws all into confuſion to recover it.

182. An honeſt man is a faſt *pledge* in dealing. A man is ſure to *have it*, if it be *to be had*.

183. Many are ſo, merely of *neceſſity*: others not ſo, only for the ſame reaſon: but *ſuch* an honeſt man is not to be *thanked*; and ſuch a *diſhoneſt* man is to be *pitied*.

184. But he that is diſhoneſt for gain, is next to a robber, and to be puniſhed for example.

185. And indeed there are few dealers, but what are faulty; which makes trade *difficult*, and a great temptation to men of *virtue*.

186. It is not what they *ſhould*, but what they *can* get: faults or decays muſt be concealed: big words given, where they are not deſerved; and the ignorance or neceſſity of the buyer impoſed upon, for unjuſt profit.

187. Theſe are the men that keep their words for their own ends; and are only juſt for fear of the magiſtrate.

188. A

188. A *politick* rather than a moral honesty; a *constrained*, not a chosen justice: according to the proverb, '*Patience per force*, and *thank you for nothing*.'

189. But of all injustice, that is the greatest, that passes under the name of *law*. A cut-purse in *Westminster-Hall* exceeds: for that advances injustice to oppression, where law is alleged for that which it should *punish*.

Of jealousy.

190. The jealous are troublesome to others, but a torment to themselves.

191. Jealousy is a kind of *civil war* in the soul, where *judgment* and *imagination* are at perpetual *jars*.

192. This civil dissention in the mind, like that of the body politick, commits great disorders, and lays all waste.

193. Nothing stands safe in its way: nature, interest, religion, must yield to its fury.

194. It violates contracts, dissolves society, breaks wedlock, betrays friends and neighbours: no body is *good*, and every one is either doing or designing them a *mischief*.

195. It has a venom, that more or less wrankles where-ever it bites: and as it reports fancies for facts, so it disturbs its *own* house as often as other folks.

196. Its rise is *guilt* or *ill-nature*; and by reflection it thinks its own faults to be other mens, as he that is overrun with the jaundice takes others to be yellow.

197. A jealous man only sees his *own spectrum*, when he looks upon other men, and gives his character in theirs.

Of state.

198. I love service, but not state: one is useful, the other superfluous.

199. The trouble of this, as well as charge, is real; but the advantage only imaginary.

200. Be-

200. Beſides, it helps to ſet us up *above* ourſelves, and augments our temptation to diſorder.

201. The leaſt thing out of joint, or omitted, makes us uneaſy; and we are ready to think ourſelves ill ſerved, about that which is of no real ſervice at all: or ſo much better than other men, as we have the means of greater ſtate.

202. But this is all for want of wiſdom, which carries the trueſt and moſt forcible ſtate along with it.

203. He that makes not himſelf cheap by indiſcreet converſation, puts value enough upon himſelf everywhere.

204. The other is rather pageantry than ſtate.

Of a good servant.

205. A true and a good ſervant are the ſame thing.

206. But no ſervant is true to his maſter, that defrauds him.

207. Now there are many ways of defrauding a maſter, as, of time, care, pains, reſpect, and reputation, as well as money.

208. He that neglects his work, robs his maſter, ſince he is fed and paid as if he did his beſt: and he that is not as diligent in the abſence, as in the preſence of his maſter, cannot be a *true* ſervant.

209. Nor is he a *true* ſervant, that buys *dear* to ſhare in the *profit* with the *ſeller*.

210. Nor yet he that tells tales without-doors; or deals baſely, in his maſter's name, with other people; or connives at others loiterings, waſtings, or diſhonourable reflections.

211. So that a *true* ſervant is diligent, ſecret, and reſpectful: more tender of his maſter's honour and intereſt, than of his own profit.

212. Such a ſervant deſerves well; and, if *modeſt* under his merit, ſhould liberally *feel it* at his maſter's hand.

Of

Of an immoderate pursuit of the world.

213. It ſhews a depraved ſtate of mind, to cark and care for that which does not *need*.

214. Some are as eager to be *rich*, as ever they were to *live*: for ſuperfluity, as for ſubſiſtence.

215. But that plenty ſhould augment *covetouſneſs*, is a perverſion of providence: and yet the generality are the *worſe* for their *riches*.

216. But it is ſtrange, that old men ſhould excel: for generally money lies neareſt them, that are neareſt their graves: as if they would augment their love, in proportion to the little time they have left to enjoy it: and yet their pleaſure is without enjoyment, ſince none *enjoy* what they do not *uſe*.

217. So that inſtead of learning to leave their great wealth eaſily, they hold the faſter, becauſe they *muſt* leave it: ſo ſordid is the temper of ſome men.

218. Where charity keeps pace with gain, induſtry is bleſſed: but to ſlave to *get*, and keep it *ſordidly*, is a ſin againſt providence, a vice in government, and an injury to their neighbours.

219. Such are they as ſpend not one fifth of their income; and, it may be, give not one tenth of what they ſpend to the needy.

220. This is the *worſt* ſort of idolatry, becauſe there can be no religion in it, nor ignorance pleaded in excuſe of it; and that it wrongs other folks, that ought to have a ſhare therein.

Of the interest of the publick in our estates.

221. Hardly any thing is given us for ourſelves, but the publick may claim a ſhare with us. But of all we call ours, we are moſt accountable to God, and the publick, for our eſtates: in this we are but ſtewards; and to hoard up all to ourſelves, is great injuſtice, as well as ingratitude.

222. If all men were ſo far tenants to the publick, that the ſuperfluities of gain and expence were applied to

to the exigencies thereof, it would put an end to taxes, leave never a beggar, and make the greateſt bank for national trade in Europe.

223. It is a judgment upon us, as well as weakneſs, though we will not ſee it, to begin at the wrong end.

224. If the taxes we give are not to maintain *pride*, I am ſure there would be leſs, if *pride* were made a tax to the government.

225. I confeſs I have wondered that ſo many *lawful* and *uſeful* things are exciſed by laws, and *pride* left to reign *free* over them and the publick.

226. But ſince people are more afraid of the laws of *man* than of *God*, becauſe their puniſhment ſeems to be *neareſt*; I know not how magiſtrates can be excuſed in their ſuffering ſuch exceſs with impunity.

227. Our noble Engliſh *patriarchs*, as well as *patriots*, were ſo ſenſible of this evil, that they made ſeveral excellent laws, commonly called *ſumptuary*, to forbid, at leaſt *limit*, the *pride* of the people; which becauſe the execution of them would be our intereſt and honour, their neglect muſt be our juſt reproach and loſs.

228. It is but reaſonable that the puniſhment of pride and exceſs ſhould help to ſupport the government; ſince it muſt otherwiſe inevitably be ruined by them.

229. but ſome ſay, 'It ruins *trade*, and will make the '*poor* burdenſome to the publick:' but if ſuch trade, in conſequence, ruins the kingdom, is it not time to ruin that *trade*? Is moderatoin no part of our duty, and temperance an enemy to government?

230. He is a *Judas*, that will get money by *any* thing.

231. To wink at a trade that effeminates the people, and invades the ancient diſcipline of the kingdom, is a crime capital, and to be ſeverely puniſhed, inſtead of being excuſed, by the magiſtrate.

232. Is there no better employment for the poor than *luxury*? Miſerable nation!

233. What did they, *before* they fell into theſe forbidden methods? Is there not land enough in England

to

to cultivate, and more and better manufactures to be made?

234. Have we no room for them in our *plantations*, about things that may augment *trade*, without *luxury*?

235. In ſhort, let *pride* pay, and *exceſs* be well exciſed: and if that will not cure the *people*, it will help to keep the *kingdom*.

The vain man.

236. But a *vain* man is a *nauſeous* creature: he is ſo full of *himſelf*, that he has no room for any thing elſe, be it ever ſo good or deſerving.

237. It is *I*, at every turn, that does this, or can do that. And as he abounds in his compariſons, ſo he is ſure to give himſelf the better of every body elſe; according to the proverb, "All his geeſe are ſwans."

238. They are certainly to be pitied, that can be ſo much miſtaken at home.

239. And yet I have ſometimes thought, that ſuch people are, in a ſort, happy, that nothing can put out of *countenance* with themſelves, though they neither have, nor merit, other people's.

240. But, at the ſame time, one would wonder they ſhould not *feel* the blows they give themſelves, or get from others, for this intolerable and ridiculous temper, nor ſhew any concern at that, which makes others bluſh for, as well as at, them; viz. their unreaſonable aſſurance.

241. To be a man's *own* fool is bad enough; but the *vain* man is *every body*'s.

242. This ſilly diſpoſition comes of a mixture of *ignorance*, *confidence*, and *pride*: and as there is more or leſs of the laſt, ſo it is more or leſs offenſive, or entertaining.

243. And yet, perhaps, the worſt part of this vanity is its *unteachableneſs*. *Tell* it any thing, and it has *known* it long *ago*; and out-runs information and inſtruction, or elſe proudly puffs at it.

244. Where-

244. Whereas the *greateſt* underſtandings doubt *moſt*, are readieſt to *learn*, and leaſt pleaſed with *themſelves*; this, with no *body elſe*.

245. For though they ſtand on higher ground, and ſo ſee farther than their neighbours, they are yet *humbled* by their proſpect, ſince it ſhews them ſomething ſo much *higher*, and above their reach.

246. And truly then it is, that *ſenſe* ſhines with the greateſt beauty, when it is ſet in *humility*.

247. An *humble* able man, is a jewel worth a kingdom: it is often ſaved by him, as Solomon's *poor wiſe* man did the city.

248. May we have more of them, or leſs need of them!

THE CONFORMIST.

249. It is reaſonable to concur, where conſcience does not forbid a compliance; for conformity is at leaſt a civil virtue.

250. But we ſhould only preſs it in neceſſaries; the reſt may prove a ſnare or temptation to break ſociety.

251. But, above all, it is a weakneſs in religion and government, where it is carried to things of an *indifferent* nature; ſince beſides that it makes way for ſcruples, *liberty* is always the price of it.

252. Such conformiſts have little to boaſt of, and therefore the leſs reaſon to reproach others, that have more latitude.

253. And yet the latitudinarian that I love, is one that is only ſo in *charity*: for the freedom I recommend is no *ſceptiſm* in judgment, and much leſs ſo in practice.

THE OBLIGATION OF GREAT MEN TO ALMIGHTY GOD.

254. It ſeems but reaſonable that thoſe whom God has diſtinguiſhed from others by his goodneſs, ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves to him by their gratitude.

255. For though he has made of one blood all nations, he has not ranged or dignified them upon the *level*, but in a ſort of ſubordination and dependency.

256. If we look upwards, we find it in the heavens, where the *planets* have their ſeveral *degrees* of glory; and ſo the other *ſtars*, of magnitude and luſtre.

257. If we look upon the earth, we ſee it among the trees of the wood, from the *cedar* to the *bramble*; among the *fiſhes*, from the *leviathan* to the *ſprat*; in the *air*, among the *birds*, from the *eagle* to the *ſparrow*; among the *beaſts*, from the *lion* to the *cat*; and among *mankind*, from the *king* to the *ſcavenger*.

258. Our great men, doubtleſs, were deſigned, by the *wiſe framer* of the world, for our *religious*, *moral*, and *politick* talents, for *lights* and *directions* to the lower ranks of the numerous company of their own kind, both in precepts and examples; and they are *well paid* for their pains too, who have the honour and ſervice of their fellow-creatures, and the *marrow* and *fat* of the earth, for their ſhare.

259. But is it not a moſt unaccountable folly, that men ſhould be *proud* of the providences, that ſhould *humble* them? Or think the better of *themſelves*, inſtead of Him that raiſed them ſo much above the *level*; or of being ſo in their lives, in return of his extraordinary favours.

260. But it is but too near a-kin to us, to think no farther than ourſelves, either in the acquiſition, or uſe, of our wealth and greatneſs: when, alas! they are the preferments of heaven, to try our wiſdom, bounty, and gratitude.

261. It is a dangerous perverſion of the end of providence, to conſume the *time*, *power*, and *wealth* he has given us above other men, to gratify our *ſordid paſſions*, inſtead of playing the good ſtewards, to the honour of our great Benefactor, and the good of our fellow-creatures.

262. But it is an injuſtice too; ſince thoſe higher ranks of men are but the *truſtees* of heaven, for the benefit

nefit of *leſſer* mortals; who, as *minors*, are intituled to all their care and proviſion.

263. For though God has dignified ſome men above their brethren, it never was to ſerve their pleaſures, but that they might take pleaſure to ſerve the publick.

264. For this cauſe, doubtleſs, it was that they were raiſed above neceſſity, or any trouble to live, that they might have more time and ability to care for others: and it is certain, where *that* uſe is not made of the bounties of providence, they are *embezzled* and waſted.

265. It has often ſtruck me with a ſerious reflection, when I have obſerved the great inequality of the world; that one man ſhould have ſuch numbers of his fellow-creatures to *wait* upon him, who have ſouls to be ſaved as well as he; and this not for buſineſs, but *ſtate*. Certainly a poor employment of his money, and a worſe of their time.

266. But that any one man ſhould make work for ſo many, or rather keep them *from* work, to make up a *train*, has a levity or luxury in it very reprovable, both in religion and government.

267. But even in *allowable* ſervices, it has an humbling conſideration, and what ſhould raiſe the thankfulneſs of the great men to him, that has ſo much bettered *their* circumſtances, and *moderate* the uſe of their dominion over thoſe of their own kind.

268. When the poor Indians hear us call any of our family by the name of *ſervants*, they cry out, 'What! 'call brethren, *ſervants!* We call our *dogs* ſervants, but 'never *men.*' The *moral* certainly can do us no harm, but may inſtruct us to abate our height, and narrow our ſtate and attendance.

269. And what has been ſaid of their exceſs, may, in ſome meaſure, be applied to other branches of luxury, that ſet *ill examples* to the leſſer world, and rob the needy of their penſions.

270. God Almighty touch the hearts of our grandees with a ſenſe of his diſtinguiſhed goodneſs, and the true *end* of it; that they may better diſtinguiſh themſelves

in their conduct, to the glory of him that has thus liberally preferred them, and to the benefit of their fellow-creatures.

OF REFINING UPON OTHER MENS ACTIONS OR INTERESTS.

271. This ſeems to be the maſter-piece of our politicians: but no body ſhoots more at random, than thoſe refiners.

272. A perfect lottery, and mere hap-hazard! Since the *true* ſpring of the actions of men, is as *inviſible* as their hearts; and ſo are their thoughts, too, of their ſeveral intereſts.

273. He that judges of other men by himſelf, does not always hit the mark; becauſe all men have not the ſame capacity, nor paſſions in intereſt.

274. If an able man refines upon the proceedings of an *ordinary* capacity, according to his *own*, he muſt ever miſs it: but much more the ordinary man, when he ſhall pretend to ſpeculate the motives to the able man's actions: for the able man deceives himſelf, by making the other *wiſer* than he is in the *reaſon* of his conduct; and the ordinary man makes *himſelf* ſo, in preſuming to judge of the reaſons of the abler man's actions.

275. It is, in ſhort, a wood, a maze; and of nothing are we more uncertain, nor in any thing do we oftener befool ourſelves.

276. The miſchiefs are many that follow this humour, and dangerous: for men miſguide themſelves, act upon falſe meaſures, and meet frequently with miſchievous diſappointments.

277. It excludes all *confidence* in commerce; allows of no ſuch thing as a *principle* in practice; ſuppoſes every man to act upon other reaſons than what *appear*, and that there is no ſuch thing as uprightneſs or ſincerity among mankind: a trick, inſtead of truth.

278. Neither allowing *nature*, or *religion*, but ſome *worldly* fetch or advantage, the true, the hidden motive, to all men to act or do.

279. It is hard to expreſs its uncharitableneſs, as well as uncertainty; and has more of vanity than benefit in it.

280. This

280. This fooliſh quality gives a large field; but let what I have ſaid, ſerve for this time.

Of charity.

281. Charity has *various* ſenſes, but is excellent in *all* of them.

282. It imports, firſt, the commiſeration of the poor and unhappy of mankind, and extends an helping-hand to mend their condition.

283. They that feel *nothing* of this, are, at beſt, not above half akin to human race; ſince they muſt have no *bowels*, which makes ſuch an *eſſential* part thereof, who have no more *nature*.

284. A *man!* and yet not have the feeling of the wants or needs of his own fleſh and blood! A *monſter* rather! And may he never be ſuffered to propagate ſuch an unnatural ſtock in the world!

285. Such an uncharitableneſs ſpoils the beſt gains; and two to one but it entails a curſe upon the poſſeſſors.

286. Nor can we expect to be heard of God in our prayers, that turn the *deaf* ear to the petitions of the diſtreſſed amongſt our fellow-creatures.

287. God ſends the poor to *try* us; as well as he tries *them*, by being *ſuch:* and he that refuſes them a *little*, out of the great deal that God has given him, lays up poverty in ſtore for his own poſterity.

288. I will not ſay theſe works are *meritorious*; but I dare ſay they are *acceptable*; and go not without their reward: though, to humble us in our fulneſs, and liberality too, we only give what is given us to *give*, as well as uſe: for if *we ourſelves* are not *our own*, leſs is *that ſo* which God has *intruſted* us with.

289. Next, charity makes the *beſt conſtruction* of things and perſons; and is ſo far from being an evil ſpy, a backbiter, or a detractor, that it excuſes weakneſs, extenuates miſcarriages, makes the beſt of every thing, forgives every-body, ſerves all, and hopes to the end.

290. It moderates extremes, is always for expedients, labours to accommodate differences, and had rather

ſuffer than revenge: and is ſo far from exacting the utmoſt farthing, that it had rather *loſe*, than ſeek its own *violently*.

291. As it acts *freely*, ſo *zealouſly* too; but it is always to do *good*, for it *hurts* nobody.

292. An univerſal remedy againſt *diſcord*, and an holy *cement* for mankind.

293. And, laſtly, It is LOVE to God and the brethren, which raiſes the ſoul above all *worldly* conſiderations: and as it gives a *taſte* of heaven upon earth, ſo it is heaven, in the *fulneſs* of it, to the *truly* charitable *here*.

294. *This* is the *nobleſt* ſenſe charity has; after which all ſhould preſs, as that *more* excellent way.

295. Nay, *moſt* excellent: for as faith, hope, and charity were the *more* excellent way that the great apoſtle diſcovered to the Chriſtians (too apt to ſtick in *outward* gifts and *church* performances) ſo, of that *better* way, he preferred charity as the BEST part, becauſe it would *out-laſt* the reſt, and abide *for ever*.

296. Wherefore a man can never be a *true* and *good* Chriſtian without *charity*, even in the *loweſt* ſenſe of it: and yet he may have *that* part thereof, and ſtill be none of the apoſtle's *true* Chriſtian; ſince he tells us, "That "though we ſhould give all our goods to the *poor*, "and want *charity* (in her other and *higher* ſenſes) it "would profit us *nothing*."

297. Nay, "Though we had all *tongues*, all *know-* "*ledge*, and even gifts of *prophecy*, and were *preach-* "*ers* to others, aye, and had *zeal* enough to give "our bodies to be *burned*, yet if we wanted CHARITY, "it would not avail us for ſalvation."

298. It ſeems it was *his* (and indeed ought to be *our*) *unum neceſſarium*, or the "one thing needful:" which our Saviour attributed to *Mary*, in preference to her ſiſter *Martha*, that ſeems not to have wanted the *leſſer* parts of charity.

299. Would God this divine *virtue* were more implanted and diffuſed among mankind, the pretenders to *Chriſtianity* eſpecially; and we ſhould certainly mind *piety* more than *controverſy*, and exerciſe *love* and *compaſſion*, inſtead of *cenſuring* and *perſecuting* one another, in *any* manner whatſoever.

A BRIEF

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

IN WHICH THEIR

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RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE

QUAKERS.

AN EPISTLE TO THE READER.

THIS following account of the people called Quakers, &c. was writ in the fear and love of God: firſt, as a ſtanding teſtimony to that ever-bleſſed truth, in the inward parts, with which God, in my youthful time, viſited my ſoul, and for the ſenſe and love of which I was made willing, in no ordinary way, to relinquiſh the honours and intereſts of the world: ſecondly, as a teſtimony for that deſpiſed people, that God has, in his great mercy, gathered and united, by his own bleſſed Spirit, in the holy profeſſion of it; whoſe fellowſhip I value above all worldly greatneſs: thirdly, in love and honour to the memory of that worthy ſervant of God, G. Fox, the firſt inſtrument thereof, and therefore ſtiled by me the great and bleſſed apoſtle of our day.

As this gave birth to what is here preſented to thy view, in the firſt edition of it, by way of preface to G. Fox's excellent journal; ſo the conſideration of the preſent uſefulneſs of the following account of the people called Quakers, (by reaſon of the unjuſt reflections of ſome adverſaries, that once walked under the profeſſion of friends) and the exhortations that conclude it, prevailed with me to conſent that it ſhould be republiſhed in a ſmaller volume; knowing alſo full well, that great books, eſpecially in theſe days, grow burthenſome, both to the pockets and minds

minds of too many; and that there are not a few that desire (so that it be an easy rate) to be informed about this people, that have been so much, everywhere, spoken against: but, blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, it is upon no worse grounds, than it was said of old time of the primitive Christians; as I hope will appear to every sober and considerate reader. Our business, after all the ill usage we have met with, being the realities of religion, an effectual change, before our last and great change: that all may come to an inward, sensible, and experimental knowledge of God, through the convictions and operations of the light and Spirit of Christ in themselves; the sufficient and blessed means given to all, and that thereby all may come savingly to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent to enlighten and redeem the world; which knowledge is, indeed, *eternal life*. And that thou, reader, mayest obtain it, is the earnest desire of him that is ever

Thine in so good a work,

W. PENN.

A BRIEF

A BRIEF ACCOUNT, &c.

CHAP. I.

Containing a brief account of divers diſpenſations of God in the world, to the time he was pleaſed to raiſe this deſpiſed people, called *Quakers*.

DIVERS have been the diſpenſations of God, ſince the creation of the world, unto the ſons of men: but the great end of all of them has been, the renown of his own excellent name, in the creation and reſtoration of man: man, the emblem of himſelf, as a god on earth, and the glory of all his works.

The world began with innocency: all was then good that the good God had made: and as he bleſſed the works of his hands, ſo their natures and harmony magnified him, their Creator. Then the morning ſtars ſang together for joy, and all parts of his works ſaid amen to his law. Not a jar in the whole frame; but man in paradiſe, the beaſts in the field, the fowl in the air, the fiſh in the ſea, the lights in the heavens, the fruits of the earth, yea, the air, the earth, the water and fire, worſhipped, praiſed, and exalted his power, wiſdom, and goodneſs. O holy ſabbath, O holy day to the Lord!

But this happy ſtate laſted not long: for man, the crown and glory of the whole, being tempted to aſpire above his place, unhappily yielded againſt command and duty, as well as intereſt and felicity, and

ſo

ſo fell below it; loſt the divine image, the wiſdom, power, and purity he was made in. By which, being no longer *fit* for paradiſe, he was expelled that garden of God, his *proper* dwelling and reſidence, and was driven out, as a poor vagabond, from the preſence of the Lord, to wander in the earth, the habitation of beaſts.

Yet God, that made him, had pity on him: for he, ſeeing man was deceived, and that it was not of malice, or an *original preſumption* in *him*, but through the ſubtlety of the ſerpent (who had firſt fallen from his *own* ſtate, and by the mediation of the woman, man's own nature and companion, whom the ſerpent had firſt deluded) in his infinite goodneſs and wiſdom, found out a way to repair the breach, recover the loſs, and reſtore fallen man again, by a *nobler* and *more excellent* Adam, promiſed to be born of a woman; that as, by means of a woman, the evil one had prevailed upon man, by a woman alſo He ſhould come into the world, who would prevail *againſt* him and bruiſe his *head*, and deliver man from his power: and which, in a ſignal manner, by the diſpenſation of the Son of God in the fleſh, in the fulneſs of time, was perſonally and fully accompliſhed by him, and in him, as man's Saviour and Redeemer.

But his power was not limited, in the manifeſtation of it, to *that* time; for both before, and ſince, his bleſſed manifeſtation in the fleſh, he has been the *light* and *life*, the rock and ſtrength, of all that ever feared God: was preſent with them in their temptations, followed them in their travels and afflictions, and ſupported and carried them through and over the difficulties that have attended them in their earthly pilgrimage. By this *Abel*'s heart excelled *Cain*'s, and *Seth* obtained the preheminence, and *Enoch* walked with God. It was this that ſtrove with the old world, and which they rebelled againſt, and which ſanctified and inſtructed *Noah* to ſalvation.

But the *outward* diſpenſation that followed the *benighted* ſtate of man, after his fall, eſpecially among the

the patriarchs, was generally that of *angels*; as the ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament do in many places expreſs, as to Abraham, Jacob, &c. The next was that of the *law* by *Moſes*, which was alſo delivered by *angels*, as the apoſtle tells us. This diſpenſation was much outward, and ſuited to a low and ſervile ſtate; called therefore, by the apoſtle Paul, that of a *ſchool-maſter*, which was to point out, and prepare that people to look and long for, the *Meſſiah*, who would deliver them from the ſervitude of a ceremonious and imperfect diſpenſation, by knowing the realities of thoſe myſterious repreſentations in *themſelves*. In this time, the law was written on ſtone, the temple built with hands, attended with an *outward* prieſthood and *external* rites and ceremonies, that were *ſhadows* of the *good things* that were *to come*, and were only to ſerve till the *Seed* came, (or the more excellent and *general* manifeſtation of Chriſt) to whom was the promiſe, and to all men only in *him*, in whom it was *yea* and *amen*, even life from death, immortality, and eternal life.

This the prophets *foreſaw*; and comforted the believing *Jews* in the certainty of it; which was the top of the *Moſaical* diſpenſation, and which ended in *John*'s miniſtry, the fore-runner of the *Meſſiah*, as *John*'s was finiſhed in *him*, the *fulneſs* of *all*. And then God, that at ſundry times, and in divers manners, had ſpoken to the fathers by his ſervants the prophets, ſpoke to men by his *Son*, Chriſt Jeſus, who is *Heir* of *all things*; being the goſpel-day, which is the diſpenſation of *Sonſhip*; bringing in thereby a nearer teſtament and a better hope; even the beginning of the glory of the latter days, and of the reſtitution of all things; yea, the *reſtoration* of the *kingdom* unto *Iſrael*.

Now the *Spirit*, that was more *ſparingly* communicated in former diſpenſations, began to be *poured forth* upon *all fleſh*, according to the prophet Joel, and the *light*, that ſhined in *darkneſs*, or but *dimly*, before, the moſt gracious God cauſed to ſhine *out of* darkneſs, and the *day-ſtar* began to ariſe in the hearts of believers,

lievers, giving unto them the knowledge of God in the face (or appearance) of his Son Chriſt Jeſus.

Now the poor in ſpirit, the meek, the true mourners, the hungry and thirſty after righteouſneſs, the peace-makers, the pure in heart, the merciful and perſecuted, came more eſpecially in remembrance before the Lord, and were ſought out and bleſſed by Iſrael's true Shepherd. Old Jeruſalem with her children grew out of date, and the New Jeruſalem into requeſt, the mother of the ſons of the goſpel-day. Wherefore no more at Old Jeruſalem, nor at the mountain of Samaria, will God be worſhipped above other places; for, behold, he is, by his own Son, declared and preached a Spirit, and that he will be known as ſuch, and worſhipped in the ſpirit and in the truth! He will now come nearer than of old time, and he will "write his law in the heart, and put his "fear and ſpirit in the inward parts," according to his promiſe. Then *ſigns*, *types*, and *ſhadows* flew away, the *day* having diſcovered their inſufficiency in not reaching to the *inſide* of the *cup*, to the *cleanſing* of the *conſcience*; and all elementary ſervices were ended in and by Him that is the ſubſtance of all.

And to this great and bleſſed end of the diſpenſation of the Son of God, did the apoſtles teſtify, whom he had choſen and anointed by his Spirit, to turn the *Jews* from their prejudice and ſuperſtition, and the *Gentiles* from their vanity and idolatry, to Chriſt's light and Spirit that ſhined in them; that they might be quickened from the ſins and treſpaſſes in which they were dead, to ſerve the living God, in the newneſs of the Spirit of life, and walk as children of the *light*, and of the *day*, even the day of holineſs: for ſuch "put on Chriſt," the light of the world, and "make no more proviſion for the fleſh, to fulfil the "luſts thereof." So that the *light*, *ſpirit*, and *grace*, that come by Chriſt, and appear in man, were that *divine principle* the apoſtles miniſtered from, and turned people's minds unto, and in which they gathered and built up the churches of Chriſt in their day. For which

which cauſe they adviſe them not to *quench* the Spirit, but to *wait for* the Spirit, and *ſpeak* by the Spirit, and *pray* by the Spirit, and *walk* in the Spirit too, as that which approved them the truly begotten children of God, "born not of fleſh and blood, or of the will of "man, but of the will of God;" by doing *his* will, and denying their *own*; by drinking of *Chriſt*'s cup, and being baptized with *His* baptiſm of *ſelf-denial*; the way and path that all the heirs of life have ever trod to bleſſedneſs.

But, alas! even in the apoſtles days, (thoſe bright ſtars of the firſt magnitude of the goſpel light) ſome clouds, foretelling an eclipſe of this primitive glory, began to appear; and ſeveral of them gave early caution of it to the Chriſtians of their time, that even then there was, and yet would be more and more, a falling-away from the power of godlineſs, and the purity of that ſpiritual diſpenſation, by ſuch as ſought to make a *fair ſhew* in the *fleſh*, but with whom the offence of the croſs ceaſed: yet with this comfortable concluſion, that they ſaw, beyond it, a more glorious time than ever to the true church.

Their ſight was true, and what they foretold to the churches, gathered by them in the name and power of Jeſus, came to paſs; for Chriſtians degenerated apace into outſides, as *days* and *meats*, and divers other ceremonies. And, which was worſe, they fell into *ſtrife* and *contention* about them; *ſeparating* one from another, then *envying*, and, as they had power, *perſecuting* one another, to the ſhame and ſcandal of their common Chriſtianity, and grievous ſtumbling and offence of the *Heathen*, among whom the Lord had ſo long and ſo marvellouſly preſerved them. And having got at laſt the worldly power into their hands, by kings and emperors embracing the Chriſtian profeſſion, they changed, what they could, the kingdom of Chriſt, "which is not of *this world*," into a worldly kingdom; or at leaſt ſtiled the worldly kingdom, that was in their hands, the *kingdom* of *Chriſt*; and ſo they became *worldly*, and not *true* Chriſtians. Then *human*

inventions

inventions and *novelties*, both in doctrine and worſhip, crouded faſt into the church; a door being opened thereunto, by the groſſneſs and carnality that appeared then among the generality of Chriſtians, who had long ſince left the guidance of God's meek and heavenly ſpirit, and given themſelves up to *ſuperſtition*, *will-worſhip*, and *voluntary humility*. And as ſuperſtition is blind, ſo it is heady and furious; for all muſt ſtoop to its blind and boundleſs zeal, or periſh by it: in the *name* of the Spirit, perſecuting the very *appearance* of the Spirit of God in others, and oppoſing that in others, which they reſiſted in themſelves, viz. the light, grace, and Spirit of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; but always under the notion of *innovation*, *hereſy*, *ſchiſms*, or ſome ſuch plauſible name: though Chriſtianity allows of no name, or pretence whatever, for perſecuting of any man for matters of mere religion, being, in its very nature, *meek*, *gentle*, and *forbearing*; and conſiſts of *faith*, *hope*, and *charity*, which no perſecutor *can* have, whilſt he remains a perſecutor; in that a man cannot *believe well*, or *hope well*, or have a *charitable* or *tender* regard to another, whilſt he would violate his *mind*, or perſecute his *body*, for matters of *faith* or *worſhip* towards his God.

Thus the *falſe church* ſprang up, and mounted the *chair*: but though ſhe loſt her nature, ſhe would needs keep her good name of the *Lamb's bride*, the *true church*, and *mother of the faithful*; conſtraining all to receive her mark, either in her forehead, or right hand; that is, *publickly* or *privately*: but, in deed and in truth, ſhe was "*myſtery Babylon*, the *mother of harlots*," mother of thoſe, that, with all their *ſhew* and *outſide* of religion, were adulterated and gone from the *ſpirit*, *nature*, and *life* of *Chriſt*, and grown *vain*, *worldly*, *ambitious*, *covetous*, *cruel*, &c. which are the fruits of the fleſh, and not of the Spirit.

Now it was, that the *true church* fled into the *wilderneſs*; that is, from *ſuperſtition* and *violence*, to a *retired*, *ſolitary*, and *lonely* ſtate; *hidden*, and, as it were, out of *ſight* of *men*, though not out of the *world*.

Which

Which ſhews, that her wonted viſibility was not eſſential to the being of a true church, in the judgment of the *Holy Ghoſt*; ſhe being as true a church in the *wilderneſs*, though not as viſible and luſtrious, as when ſhe was in her former ſplendor of *profeſſion*.

In this ſtate many attempts ſhe made to return; but the waters were yet too high, and her way blocked up; and many of her excellent children, in ſeveral nations and centuries, *fell*, by the cruelty of ſuperſtition, becauſe they would not fall from their faithfulneſs to the *truth*.

The laſt age did ſet ſome ſteps towards it, both as to doctrine, worſhip, and practice. But practice quickly failed; for wickedneſs flowed in a little time, as well among the profeſſors of the *reformation*, as thoſe they reformed *from*; ſo that by the fruits of converſation they were not to be diſtinguiſhed: and the children of the reformers, if not the reformers themſelves, betook themſelves, very early, to *earthly policy* and *power*, to uphold and carry on their reformation, that had been begun with *ſpiritual weapons*; which, I have often thought, has been one of the greateſt reaſons the reformation made no better progreſs, as to the *life* and *ſoul* of religion. For whilſt the reformers were lowly and ſpiritually-minded, and truſted in God, and looked to him, and lived in his fear, and conſulted not with fleſh and blood, nor ſought deliverance in their own way, there were daily added to the church, ſuch as one might reaſonably ſay ſhould be ſaved: for they were not ſo careful to be ſafe from perſecution, as to be faithful and inoffenſive under it: being more concerned to ſpread the truth by their faith and patience in *tribulation*, than to get the worldly power out of their hands that inflicted thoſe ſufferings upon them: and it will be well if the Lord ſuffer them not to fall, by the very ſame way they took to ſtand.

In doctrine, they were in ſome things ſhort; in other things, to avoid one extreme, they ran into another: and for worſhip, there was, for the generality, more of *man* in it than of *God*. They *owned* the Spi-

rit, inſpiration, and revelation, indeed, and grounded their ſeparation and reformation upon the ſenſe and underſtanding they received *from* it, in the reading of the ſcriptures of truth. And this was their plea, 'The *ſcripture* is the *text*, the *Spirit* the *interpreter*, 'and that to *every one* for *himſelf*.' But yet there was too much of human invention, tradition, and art, that remained, both in praying and preaching; and of worldly authority, and worldly greatneſs, in their miniſters; eſpecially in this kingdom, Sweden, Denmark, and ſome parts of Germany. God was therefore pleaſed, in England, to ſhift us from veſſel to veſſel; and the next remove *humbled* the miniſtry, ſo that they were more ſtrict in preaching, devout in praying, and zealous for keeping the Lord's-day, and catechizing of children and ſervants, and repeating at home in their families, what they had heard in publick. But even as theſe grew into power, they were not only for whipping ſome *out*, but others *into* the temple: and they appeared *rigid* in their *ſpirits*, rather than ſevere in their lives, and more for a *party*, than for *piety*: which brought forth another people, that were yet more retired and ſelect.

They would not communicate at large, or in common with others; but formed churches among themſelves, of ſuch as could give ſome account of their converſion; at leaſt, of very promiſing experiences of the work of God's grace upon their hearts; and under mutual agreements and covenants of fellowſhip, they kept together. Theſe people were ſomewhat of a *ſofter* temper, and ſeemed to recommend religion by the charms of its love, mercy, and goodneſs, rather than by the terrors of its judgments and puniſhments; by which the former party would have *awed* people into religion.

They alſo allowed greater liberty to *propheſy* than thoſe before them; for they admitted *any* member to ſpeak and pray, as well as their paſtor, whom *they* always choſe, and not the civil magiſtrate. If ſuch found any thing *preſſing upon them* to *either duty*, even without

without the diſtinction of *clergy* or *laity*, perſons of *any trade* had their liberty, be it ever ſo low and mechanical. But, alas! even theſe people ſuffered great loſs: for taſting of *worldly empire*, and the *favour of princes*, and the *gain* that enſued, they degenerated but too much. For though they had cried down national churches and miniſtry, and maintenance too, ſome of them, when it was their own turn to be tried, fell under the weight of worldly honour and advantage, got into profitable parſonages too much, and outlived and contradicted their own principles: and, which was yet worſe, turned, ſome of them, abſolute *perſecutors* of *other men* for *God's ſake*, that but ſo lately came themſelves out of the furnace; which drove many a ſtep farther, and that was into the *water*; *another* BAPTISM, as believing they were not *ſcripturally* baptized; and hoping to find that preſence and power of God, in ſubmitting to this watery ordinance, which they deſired and wanted.

Theſe people alſo made profeſſion of neglecting, if not renouncing and cenſuring, not only the neceſſity, but uſe, of all human learning, as to the miniſtry; and all other qualifications to it, beſides the *helps* and *gifts* of the *Spirit* of *God*, and thoſe natural and common to men: and, for a time, they ſeemed, like John of old, a burning and a ſhining light to other ſocieties.

They were very diligent, plain, and ſerious; ſtrong in ſcripture, and bold in profeſſion; bearing much reproach and contradiction. But that which others fell by, proved *their* ſnare: for worldly power ſpoiled *them* too; who had enough of it to try them what they would do if they had more: and they reſted alſo too much upon their watery diſpenſation, inſtead of paſſing on more fully to that of the *fire* and *Holy Ghoſt*, which was *His* baptiſm, who came with "a fan in his "hand, that he might thoroughly (and not in *part* "only) purge his floor, and take away the droſs and "the tin of his people, and make a man finer than "gold." Withal, they grew high, rough, and ſelf-righteous; oppoſing farther attainment; too much

forgetting the day of their infancy and littleneſs, which gave them ſomething of a real beauty: inſomuch that many *left* them, and all viſible churches and ſocieties, and wandered up and down, as ſheep without a ſhepherd, and as doves without their mates; ſeeking their Beloved, but could not find him (as their ſouls deſired to know him) whom their ſouls loved above their chiefeſt joy.

Theſe people were called *Seekers* by ſome, and the *Family of Love*, by others; becauſe, as they came to the knowledge of one another, they ſometimes *met* together, not formally to pray or preach at appointed times or places, in their own wills, as in times paſt they were accuſtomed to do; but waited together in *ſilence*, and as any thing roſe in any one of their minds that they thought ſavoured of a divine ſpring, they ſometimes ſpoke. But ſo it was, that ſome of them, not keeping in humility, and in the fear of God, after the abundance of revelation, were exalted *above meaſure*; and for want of ſtaying their minds in an humble dependence upon Him that opened their underſtandings "to ſee great things in his law," they ran out in their own *imaginations*, and mixing *them* with thoſe *divine openings*, brought forth a monſtrous birth, to the ſcandal of thoſe that feared God, and waited daily, in the "temple not made with hands," for the conſolation of Iſrael; the Jew inward, and circumciſion in ſpirit.

This people obtained the name of *Ranters*, from their extravagant diſcourſes and practices. For they interpreted Chriſt's fulfilling of the law *for us*, to be a *diſcharging of us* from any obligation and duty the law required of us; inſtead of the condemnation of the law for ſins paſt, upon faith and repentance; and that now it was *no* ſin to do that, which before it *was* a ſin to commit; the ſlaviſh fear of the law being taken off by Chriſt; and all things *good* that man did, if he did but do them with the mind and perſuaſion that it *was ſo*. Inſomuch that divers fell into groſs and enormous practices; pretending, in excuſe thereof, that they

they could, *without evil*, commit the *ſame act*, which was *ſin* in *another* to do; thereby diſtinguiſhing between the *action* and the *evil* of it, by the direction of the mind and intention in the doing of it. Which was to make ſin *ſuper*-abound by the aboundings of *grace*, and to turn from the grace of God into wantonneſs; a *ſecurer* way of ſinning than before: as if Chriſt came not to ſave us *from* our ſins, but *in* our ſins; not to *take away* ſin, but that we might ſin more freely at *his coſt*, and with leſs danger to ourſelves. I ſay, this enſnared divers, and brought them to an utter and lamentable loſs as to their eternal ſtate; and they grew very troubleſome to the *better* ſort of people, and furniſhed the *looſer* with an occaſion to profane.

CHAP. II.

Of the riſe of this PEOPLE; their fundamental principle, doctrine, and practice, in twelve points reſulting from it: their progreſs and ſufferings: an expoſtulation with England thereupon.

IT was about that very time, as you may ſee in G. F's annals, that the eternal, wiſe, and good God was pleaſed, in his infinite love, to honour and viſit this *benighted* and *bewildered* nation, with his glorious *day-ſpring* from on high; yea, with a moſt ſure and certain ſound of the word of light and life, through the teſtimony of a *choſen veſſel*, to an effectual and bleſſed purpoſe, can many thouſands ſay: glory be to the name of the Lord for ever!

For as it reached the conſcience, and broke the heart, and brought many to a ſenſe and ſearch; ſo that which people had been vainly ſeeking *without*, with much pains and coſt, they, by this miniſtry, found *within*, where it was they wanted what they ſought for, viz. *the right way to peace with God*. For they were directed to the *light* of *Jeſus Chriſt within*

them, as the *ſeed* and *leaven* of the kingdom of God; *near* all, becauſe *in* all, and God's talent *to* all: a *faithful* and *true witneſs*, and *juſt monitor*, in *every boſom*: the *gift* and *grace* of God, to life and ſalvation, that *appears* to all, though few *regard* it. *This*, the traditional Chriſtian, conceited of himſelf, and ſtrong in his own will and righteouſneſs, overcome with blind zeal and paſſion, either deſpiſed as a *low* and *common* thing, or oppoſed as a *novelty*, under many hard names, and opprobrious terms; denying, in his ignorant and angry mind, any *freſh* manifeſtations of God's power and ſpirit in man, in theſe days, though never more needed to make true Chriſtians. Not unlike thoſe Jews of old, that rejected the Son of God, at the very ſame time that they blindly profeſſed to wait for the Meſſiah to come; becauſe, alas! he appeared not among them according to their *carnal* mind and expectation.

This brought forth many abuſive books, which filled the greater ſort with *envy*, and leſſer with *rage*; and made the way and progreſs of this bleſſed teſtimony ſtrait and narrow indeed to thoſe that received it. However, God owned his own work, and this teſtimony did, *effectually*, reach, gather, comfort, and eſtabliſh the weary and heavy-laden, the hungry and thirſty, the poor and needy, the mournful and ſick of many maladies, that had ſpent all upon phyſicians of no value, and waited for relief from *heaven*; help only from above: ſeeing, upon a ſerious trial of all things, nothing elſe would do but *Chriſt himſelf*; the *light* of his *countenance*, a *touch* of his *garment*, and *help* from his *hand*; who cured the poor woman's iſſue, raiſed the centurion's ſervant, the widow's ſon, the ruler's daughter, and Peter's mother: and, like her, they no ſooner felt his power and efficacy upon their ſouls, but they gave up to obey him in a teſtimony to his power; and that with reſigned wills and faithful hearts, through all mockings, contradictions, confiſcations, beatings, priſons, and many other jeopardies that attended them for his bleſſed name's ſake.

And

And truly they were very many, and very great! So that, in all human probability, they muſt have been ſwallowed up quick of the proud and boiſterous waves that ſwelled and beat againſt them, but that the God of all their tender mercies was with them in his glorious authority; ſo that the hills often *fled*, and the mountains *melted*, before the power that filled them; working mightily for them, as well as in them, one ever following the other: by which they ſaw plainly, to their exceeding great confirmation and comfort, "that all things were poſſible with him with whom "they had to do:" and that the more that which God required ſeemed to croſs man's wiſdom, and expoſe them to man's wrath, the more God appeared to help and carry them through all to his glory.

Inſomuch that if ever any people could ſay in truth, "Thou art our ſun and our ſhield, our rock and "ſanctuary; and by thee we have leaped over a wall, "and by thee we have run through a troop, and by "thee we have put the armies of the aliens to flight," theſe people had right to ſay it. And as God had delivered their ſouls of the weariſome burdens of ſin and vanity, and enriched their poverty of ſpirit, and ſatisfied their great hunger and thirſt after eternal righteouſneſs, and filled them with the good things of his own houſe, and made them ſtewards of his manifold gifts; ſo they went forth to all quarters of theſe nations, to declare to the inhabitants thereof, "what God had *done* "for them;" what they had found, and where and how they had found it, viz. *The way* to *peace with God*: inviting all to come, and ſee, and taſte, for themſelves, the truth of what they declared unto them.

And as their teſtimony was to the *principle of God in man*, the *precious pearl* and *leaven of the kingdom*, as the only bleſſed means appointed of God to quicken, convince, and ſanctify man; ſo they opened to them what it was in *itſelf*, and what it was given to them for: *how* they might know it from their *own* ſpirit, and that of the ſubtil appearance of the evil one: and what it would do for all thoſe, whoſe minds ſhould be turned off from

the vanity of the world, and its lifeleſs ways and teachers, and adhere to this bleſſed light in themſelves, which diſcovers and condemns ſin in all its appearances, and ſhews how to overcome it, if minded and obeyed in its holy manifeſtations and convictions: giving power to ſuch to avoid and reſiſt thoſe things that do not pleaſe God, and to grow ſtrong in love, faith, and good works: that ſo *man*, whom ſin has made as a *wilderneſs*, over-run with briars and thorns, might become as the *garden* of God, cultivated by his divine power, and repleniſhed with the moſt virtuous and beautiful plants of God's own right-hand planting, to his eternal praiſe.

But theſe experimental preachers of glad tidings of God's truth and kingdom, could not run when they liſt, or pray or preach when they pleaſed, but as *Chriſt*, their redeemer, *prepared* and *moved* them by his own bleſſed *ſpirit*; for which they waited, in their ſervices and meetings, and ſpoke as *that* gave them *utterance*; and which was as thoſe having authority, and not like the dreaming, dry, and formal Phariſees. And ſo it plainly appeared to the ſerious-minded, whoſe ſpiritual eye the Lord Jeſus had in any meaſure opened: ſo that to one was given the word of *exhortation*, to another the word of *reproof*, to another the word of *conſolation*, and all by the *ſame Spirit*, and in the good order thereof, to the convincing and edifying of many.

And truly they waxed ſtrong and bold through faithfulneſs; and by the Power and Spirit of the Lord Jeſus became very fruitful; thouſands, in a ſhort time, being turned to the truth in the inward parts, through their teſtimony, in miniſtry and ſufferings: inſomuch as in moſt counties, and many of the conſiderable towns of England, meetings were ſettled, and daily there were added ſuch as ſhould be ſaved. For they were diligent to *plant* and to *water*, and the Lord bleſſed their labours with an exceeding great *increaſe*; notwithſtanding all the oppoſition made to their bleſſed progreſs, by falſe rumours, calumnies, and bitter perſecutions; not only from the powers of the earth, but from

from every-one that liſted to injure and abuſe them: ſo that they ſeemed, indeed, to be as "poor ſheep appointed to the ſlaughter, and as people killed all the day long."

It were fitter for a volume than a preface, but ſo much as to repeat the *contents* of their cruel ſufferings from profeſſors, as well as from profane, and from magiſtrates as well as the rabble: ſo that it may be ſaid of this abuſed and deſpiſed people, they went forth *weeping* and ſowed in *tears*, bearing teſtimony to the *precious ſeed*, even the *ſeed* of the *kingdom*, which ſtands not in *words*, the fineſt, the higheſt that man's wit can uſe, but in *power*; the power of Chriſt Jeſus, to whom God the Father hath given *all* power in heaven and in earth, that he might rule *angels* above, and *men* below: who impowered them, as their work witneſſeth, by the many that were *turned*, through their miniſtry, from *darkneſs* to the *light*, and out of the *broad* into the *narrow* way of life and peace; bringing people to a weighty, ſerious, and god-like converſation; the *practice* of that doctrine which they taught.

And as without this ſecret divine power, there is no quickening and regenerating of dead ſouls; ſo the *want* of this *generating* and *begetting* power and life, is the cauſe of the little fruit that the many miniſtries, that have been and are in the world, bring forth. O that both miniſters and people were ſenſible of this! My ſoul is often troubled for them, and ſorrow and mourning compaſs me about for their ſakes. O that they were wiſe! O that they would conſider, and lay to heart, the things that truly and ſubſtantially make for their laſting peace!

Two things are to be conſidered, the *doctrine* they taught, and the *example* they led, among all people. I have already touched upon their fundamental principle, which is as the corner ſtone of their fabrick; and, indeed, to ſpeak eminently and properly, their characteriſtick, or main diſtinguiſhing point or principle, viz. the *light of Chriſt within*, as God's gift for man's ſalvation: this, I ſay, is as the root of the goodly

tree

tree of doctrines that grew and branched out from it, which I shall now mention in their natural and experimental order.

First, "Repentance from dead works, to serve the "living God:" which comprehends three operations. First, a *sight* of sin. Secondly, a *sense* and *godly sorrow* for sin. Thirdly, an *amendment* for the time to come. This was the repentance they preached and pressed, and a natural result from the principle they turned all people unto. For of light came *sight*; and of sight came *sense* and *sorrow*; and of sense and sorrow, came *amendment* of *life*. Which doctrine of repentance leads to *justification*; that is, *forgiveness* of the *sins that are past*, through *Christ*, the alone *propitiation*; and the *sanctification* or *purgation* of the *soul*, from the defiling nature and habits of sin *present*, by the Spirit of Christ in the soul: which is justification in the *complete* sense of that word; comprehending both justification from the *guilt* of the sins that are past, as if they had never been committed, through the love and mercy of God in Christ Jesus; and the creature's being made inwardly *just* through the cleansing and sanctifying power and Spirit of Christ revealed in the soul; which is commonly called *sanctification*: but that none can come to know Christ to be their sacrifice, that reject him as their sanctifier: the end of his coming being to save his people from the *nature* and *defilement*, as well as guilt of sin; and that therefore those that resist his Light and Spirit, make his coming and offering of none effect to them.

From hence sprang a second doctrine they were led to declare, as the "mark of the prize of the high "calling," to all true Christians, viz. *Perfection from sin*, according to the scriptures of truth; which testify it to be the end of Christ's coming, and the nature of his kingdom, and for which his Spirit was and is given, viz. to be "perfect, as our heavenly Father is perfect; "and holy, because God is holy." And this the apostle laboured for, that the Christians should be "sanctified *throughout*, in body, soul, and spirit."

But

But they never held a perfection in *wiſdom* and *glory* in this life, or from *natural infirmities*, or *death*; as ſome have, with a weak or ill mind, imagined, and inſinuated againſt them.

This they call a 'redeemed ſtate, re-generation, or 'the new-birth:' teaching every-where, according to their foundation, that without this work were known, there was no inheriting the kingdom of God.

Thirdly, This leads to an acknowledgment of *eternal rewards* and *puniſhments*, as they have good reaſon; for elſe, of *all* people, certainly they muſt be the *moſt miſerable*; who, for above forty years, have been exceeding great ſufferers for their profeſſion; and, in ſome caſes, treated *worſe* than the *worſt* of men; yea, as the "refuſe and off-ſcouring of all things."

This was the purport of their doctrine and miniſtry; which, for the moſt part, is what other profeſſors of Chriſtianity pretend to hold in words and forms, but not in the *power* of godlineſs; which, generally ſpeaking, has been long loſt, by mens departing from that *principle* and *ſeed* of *life* that is *in* man, and which man has not *regarded*, but loſt the *ſenſe* of; and in and by which *only* he can be quickened in his mind to ſerve the living God in newneſs of life. For as the *life* of religion was *loſt*, and the generality lived and worſhipped God after their *own* wills, and not after the will of *God*, nor the mind of *Chriſt*, which ſtood in the works and fruits of the *Holy Spirit*; ſo that which they preſſed, was not notion, but *experience*; not formality, but *godlineſs*; as being ſenſible in themſelves, through the work of God's righteous judgments, that "without "holineſs, no man ſhall ever ſee the Lord, with "*comfort*."

Beſides theſe general doctrines, as the larger branches, there ſprang forth ſeveral particular doctrines, that did exemplify and farther explain the truth and efficacy of the general doctrine before obſerved, in their lives and examples. As,

I. *Com-*

I. *Communion*, and *loving one another*. This is a noted mark in the mouth of all ſorts of people concerning them: 'They will meet, they will help and ſtick one 'to another.' Whence it is common to hear ſome ſay, 'Look how the Quakers love and take care of one an-'other.' Others, leſs moderate, will ſay, 'The Quak-'ers love none but themſelves.' And if *loving* one another, and having an *intimate communion* in religion, and *conſtant care* to meet to worſhip God, and help one another, be any mark of *primitive Chriſtianity*, they had it, bleſſed be the Lord! in an ample manner.

II. *To love enemies.* This they both *taught* and *practiſed*. For they did not only *refuſe* to be *avenged* for injuries done them, and condemned it, as of an unchriſtian ſpirit, but they did *freely forgive*, yea, *help* and *relieve*, thoſe that had been *cruel* to them, when it was in their power to have been *even* with them: of which many and ſingular inſtances might be given: endeavouring, through faith and patience, to overcome all injuſtice and oppreſſion, and preaching this doctrine as *Chriſtian*, for others to follow.

III. Another was, *the ſufficiency* of *truth-ſpeaking*, according to Chriſt's own form of ſound words, of *yea, yea, nay, nay*, among Chriſtians, *without ſwearing*; both from Chriſt's expreſs prohibition, *to ſwear at all*, Mat. v. and for that they being under the tie and bond of truth in themſelves, there was no neceſſity for an oath; and it would be a reproach to their Chriſtian veracity to aſſure their truth by ſuch an *extraordinary* way of ſpeaking: ſimple and uncompounded anſwers, as *yea* and *nay*, (without aſſeverations, atteſtations, or ſupernatural vouchers) being moſt ſuitable to evangelical righteouſneſs. But offering, at the ſame time, to be puniſhed to the full, for *falſe-ſpeaking*, as others for *perjury*, if ever guilty of it: and hereby they exclude, with all *true*, all *falſe*, and *profane* ſwearing; for which the land did and doth *mourn*, and the great God was, and is, not a little offended with it.

IV. *Not fighting*, but *ſuffering*, is another teſtimony peculiar to this people: they affirm that Chriſtianity teacheth

teacheth people, "to beat their ſwords into plough-"ſhares, and their ſpears into pruning-hooks, and to "learn war no more; that ſo the wolf may lie down "with the lamb, and the lion with the calf, and no-"thing that deſtroys be entertained in the hearts of "people:" exhorting them to employ their zeal againſt *ſin*, and turn their anger againſt *ſatan*, and no longer *war* one againſt another; becauſe, "all wars and fight-"ings come of mens own hearts luſts," according to the apoſtle James, and not of the meek Spirit of Chriſt Jeſus, who is captain of *another* warfare, and which is carried on with *other* weapons. Thus as *truth-ſpeaking* ſucceeded *ſwearing*, ſo *faith* and *patience* ſucceeded *fighting*, in the doctrine and practice of this people. Nor ought they, for this, to be obnoxious to civil government; ſince if they cannot fight *for* it, neither can they fight *againſt* it; which is no mean ſecurity to any ſtate. Nor is it reaſonable that people ſhould be blamed for not doing more for *others*, than they can do for *themſelves*. And, Chriſtianity ſet aſide, if the coſts and fruits of *war* were well conſidered, *peace*, with all its inconveniences, is generally preferable. But though they were not for fighting, they were for *ſub-mitting* to government; and that, "not only for fear, "but for conſcience-ſake," where government doth not interfere with conſcience: believing it to be an ordinance of God, and, where it is juſtly adminiſtered, a great benefit to mankind. Though it has been their lot, through blind zeal in ſome, and intereſt in others, to have felt the ſtrokes of it with greater weight and rigour, than any other perſuaſion in this age; whilſt they, of all others, religion ſet aſide, have given the civil magiſtrate the *leaſt* occaſion of trouble in the diſ-charge of his office.

V. Another part of the character of this people was, and is, they refuſe to pay *tithes*, or *maintenance*, to a *national miniſtry*; and that for two reaſons: the one is, they believe all *compelled* maintenance, even to *goſpel*-miniſters, to be unlawful, becauſe expreſly contrary to Chriſt's command, who ſaid, "Freely you have re-

"ceived,

" ceived, freely give:" at leaſt, that the maintenance of goſpel-miniſters ſhould be *free*, and not *forced*. The other reaſon of their refuſal is, becauſe thoſe miniſters are not *goſpel* ones, in that the *Holy Ghoſt* is not their *foundation*, but *human arts* and *parts*. So that it is not matter of humour or ſullenneſs, but *pure conſcience* towards God, that they cannot help to ſupport national miniſtries where they dwell; which are but too much, and too viſibly, become ways of worldly advantage and preferment.

VI. *Not to reſpect perſons*, was, and is, another of their doctrines and practices, for which they were often buffetted and abuſed. They affirmed it to be ſinful to give flattering titles, or to uſe vain geſtures and compliments of reſpect. Though to virtue and authority they ever made a *difference*; but after their plain and homely manner, yet ſincere and ſubſtantial way: well remembering the examples of Mordecai and Elihu; but, more eſpecially, the command of their Lord and Maſter Jeſus Chriſt, who forbad his followers to call men *Rabbi*, which implies *lord* or *maſter*; alſo the faſhionable *greetings* and *ſalutations* of thoſe times; that ſo *ſelf-love* and *honour*, to which the proud mind of man is incident, in his *fallen* eſtate, might not be indulged, but rebuked. And though this rendered their converſation diſagreeable, yet they that will remember what Chriſt ſaid to the Jews, " How can you believe " in me, who receive *honour* one of another," will abate of their reſentment, if his doctrine has any credit with them.

VII. They alſo uſed the plain language of *thee* and *thou*, to a ſingle perſon, whatever was his degree among men. And, indeed, the wiſdom of God was much ſeen, in bringing forth this people in ſo plain an appearance: for it was a *cloſe* and *diſtinguiſhing teſt* upon the *ſpirits* of thoſe they came among; ſhewing their *inſides*, and what *predominated*, notwithſtanding their high and great profeſſion of religion. This, among the reſt, ſounded ſo harſh to many of them, and they took it ſo ill, that they would ſay, 'Thou *me*, thou my

' *dog!*

'*dog!* If thou thou'ſt *me*, I'll thou thy teeth down thy 'throat:' forgetting the language *they uſe* to *God*, in their own *prayers*, and the *common ſtile* of the *ſcriptures*, and that it is an *abſolute* and *eſſential* propriety of ſpeech. And what good, alas! had their religion done them, who were ſo ſenſibly touched with indignation, for the uſe of this *plain*, *honeſt*, and *true* ſpeech.

VIII. They recommended *ſilence* by their example, having *very few* words upon all occaſions. They were *at a word* in dealing: nor could their cuſtomers, with *many* words, tempt them from it, having more regard to *truth* than *cuſtom*, to *example* than *gain*: they ſought *ſolitude*; but when in company, they would neither uſe, nor willingly hear, *unneceſſary*, as well as *unlawful* diſcourſes: whereby they preſerved their minds *pure* and *undiſturbed* from unprofitable thoughts, and diverſions. Nor could they humour the cuſtom of *good night*, *good morrow*, *good ſpeed*; for they knew the *night* was good, and the *day* was good, without *wiſhing* of *either*; and that, in the other expreſſion, the holy name of God was too *lightly* and *unthankfully* uſed, and therefore taken in *vain*. Beſides, they were words and wiſhes of *courſe*, and are uſually as little *meant*, as are *love* and *ſervice* in the cuſtom of cap and knee; and ſuperfluity in thoſe, as well as in other things, was burdenſome to them; and therefore they did not only decline to uſe them, but found themſelves often preſſed to reprove the practice.

IX. For the ſame reaſon they forbore *drinking to people* or *pledging of them*, as the manner of the world is: a practice that is not only *unneceſſary*, but, they thought, *evil* in the *tendencies* of it, being a *provocation* to drink more than did people *good*, as well as that it was in itſelf *vain* and *heatheniſh*.

X. Their way of *marriage* is peculiar to them; and ſhews a diſtinguiſhing care, above other ſocieties profeſſing Chriſtianity. They ſay, 'That marriage is an 'ordinance of *God*; and that *God only* can rightly join 'man and woman in *marriage*.' Therefore they uſe neither *prieſt* or *magiſtrate*; but the man and woman concerned,

cerned, take each other, as husband and wife, in the presence of divers credible witnesses, *promising to each other, with God's assistance, to be loving and faithful in that relation, till death shall separate them.* But, antecedent to this, they first present themselves to the monthly meeting, for the affairs of the church, where they reside; there declaring their intentions to take one another as husband and wife, if the said meeting have nothing material to object against it. They are constantly asked the necessary questions, as in case of parents or guardians, if they have acquainted them with their intention, and have their consent, *&c.* The method of the meeting is, to take a minute thereof, and to appoint proper persons to enquire of their conversation and clearness from all others, and whether they have discharged their duty to their parents or guardians; and to make report thereof to the next monthly meeting, where the same parties are desired to give their attendance. In case it appears they have proceeded orderly, the meeting passes their proposal, and so records it in their meeting-book. And in case the woman be a widow, and hath children, due care is there taken, that provision also be made by her for the orphans, before the meeting pass the proposals of marriage: advising the parties concerned, to appoint a convenient time and place, and to give fitting notice to their relations, and such friends and neighbours, as they desire should be the witnesses of their marriage: where they take one another by the hand, and, by name, promise reciprocally love and fidelity, after the manner before expressed. Of all which proceedings, a narrative, in way of certificate, is made, to which the said parties first set their hands, thereby making it their act and deed; and then divers relations, spectators, and auditors set their names, as witnesses of what they said and signed. And this certificate is afterwards registered in the record belonging to the meeting where the marriage is solemnized. Which regular method has been, as it deserves, adjudged, in courts of law, *a good marriage*; where it has been by cross and ill people dis-

diſputed and conteſted, for want of the accuſtomed formalities of prieſt and ring, &c. Ceremonies they have refuſed; not out of humour, but conſcience reaſonably grounded; inaſmuch as no ſcripture-example tells us, that the prieſt had any other part, of old time, than that of a witneſs among the reſt, before whom the Jews uſed to take one another: and therefore this people look upon it as an impoſition, to advance the power and profits of the clergy: and for the uſe of the ring, it is enough to ſay, that it was an heatheniſh and vain cuſtom, and never in practice among the people of God, *Jews*, or *primitive Chriſtians*: the words of the uſual form, as, '*with my body* I thee *worſhip*,' &c. are hardly defenſible. In ſhort, they are more careful, exact, and regular, than any form now uſed; and it is free of the inconveniences with which other methods are attended: their care and checks being ſo many, and ſuch, as that no clandeſtine marriage can be performed among them.

XI. It may not be unfit to ſay ſomething here of their *births* and *burials*, which make up ſo much of the pomp and ſolemnity of too many called Chriſtians. For *births*, the *parents* name their own children; which is uſually ſome days after they are born, in the preſence of the midwife, if ſhe can be there, and thoſe that were at the birth, who afterwards ſign a certificate, for that purpoſe prepared, of the birth or name of the child or children; which is recorded in a proper book, in the monthly meeting to which the parents belong; avoiding the accuſtomed ceremonies and feſtivals.

XII. Their *burials* are performed with the ſame ſimplicity. If the *body* of the deceaſed be near any public meeting-place, it is uſually carried thither, for the more convenient reception of thoſe that accompany it to the burying-ground. And it ſo falls out ſometimes, that while the meeting is gathering for the burial, ſome or other has a word of exhortation, for the ſake of the people there met together. After which, the body is borne away by young men, or elſe thoſe that are of their neighbourhood, or thoſe that were moſt of the in-

timacy of the deceaſed party: the corpſe being in a *plain coffin*, without any *covering* or *furniture* upon it. At the ground, they *pauſe* ſome time before they put the body into its grave, that if any there ſhould have any thing upon them to exhort the people, they may not be diſappointed, and that the relations may the more retiredly and ſolemnly take their laſt leave of the body of their departed kindred, and the ſpectators have a ſenſe of mortality, by the occaſion then given them to reflect upon their own latter end. Otherwiſe, they have no ſet rites or ceremonies on thoſe occaſions. Neither do the kindred of the deceaſed ever wear mourning; they looking upon it as a worldly ceremony and piece of pomp; and that what mourning is fit for a Chriſtian to have, at the departure of a beloved relation or friend, ſhould be worn in the *mind*, which only is ſenſible of the loſs; and the love they had to them, and remembrance of them, to be outwardly expreſſed by a reſpect to their advice, and care of thoſe they have left behind them, and their love of that they loved. Which conduct of theirs, though unmodiſh or unfaſhionable, leaves nothing of the ſubſtance of things neglected or undone: and as they aim at no more, ſo that ſimplicity of life is what they obſerve with great ſatisfaction; though it ſometimes happens not to be without the mockeries of the vain world they live in.

Theſe things, to be ſure, gave them a rough and diſagreeable appearance with the generality; who thought them "turners of the world upſide down," as indeed, in ſome ſenſe, they were: but in no other than that wherein *Paul* was ſo charged, viz. To bring things back into their *primitive* and *right order* again. For theſe and ſuch like practices of theirs were not the reſult of humour, or for civil diſtinction, as ſome have fancied, but a fruit of inward ſenſe, which God, through his holy fear, had begotten in them. They did not conſider how to contradict the world, or diſtinguiſh themſelves as a party from others; it being none of their buſineſs, as it was not their intereſt: no, it was not the reſult of conſultation, or a framed deſign, by which

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to declare or recommend ſchiſm or novelty. But God having given them a ſight of themſelves, they ſaw the whole world in the ſame glaſs of truth; and ſenſibly diſcerned the affections and paſſions of men, and the riſe and tendency of things; what it was that gratified the "luſt of the fleſh, the luſt of the eye, and the "pride of life, which are not of the Father, but of the "world." And from thence ſprang, in the night of darkneſs and apoſtaſy, which hath been over people, through their degenerations from the Light and Spirit of God, theſe and many other vain cuſtoms, which are ſeen, by the heavenly day of Chriſt, that dawns in the ſoul, to be either wrong in their original; or, by time and abuſe, hurtful in their practice. And though theſe things ſeemed trivial to ſome, and rendered theſe people ſtingy and conceited in ſuch perſons opinion, there was, and is, more in them, than they were, or are, aware of.

It was not very eaſy to our primitive friends to make themſelves ſights and ſpectacles, and the ſcorn and deriſion of the world; which they eaſily foreſaw muſt be the conſequence of ſo unfaſhionable a converſation in it: but here was the wiſdom of God ſeen, in the fooliſhneſs of theſe things; firſt, That they diſcovered the *ſatisfaction* and *concern* that people had in and for the faſhions of this world, notwithſtanding their high pretences to another; in that any diſappointment about them came ſo very near them, as that the greateſt honeſty, virtue, wiſdom, and ability, were unwelcome *without* them. Secondly, It ſeaſonably and profitably divided *converſation:* for this making their ſociety uneaſy to their relations and acquaintance, it gave them the opportunity of more *retirement* and *ſolitude*; wherein they met with better company, even the *Lord God*, their *Redeemer*; and grew ſtrong in his love, power, and wiſdom, and were thereby better qualified for his ſervice. And the ſucceſs abundantly ſhewed it: bleſſed be the name of the Lord.

And though they were not great and learned in the eſteem of this world (for then they had not wanted fol-

lowers upon their own credit and authority) yet they were generally of the *moſt ſober* of the ſeveral perſuaſions they were in, and of the *moſt repute* for religion; and many of them of *good capacity*, *ſubſtance*, and account among men.

And alſo ſome among them wanted not for parts, learning, or eſtate; though then, as of old, "not "many wiſe, or noble, &c. were called;" or at leaſt *received* the heavenly call, becauſe of the croſs that attended the profeſſion of it in ſincerity. But neither do parts or learning make men the better Chriſtians, though the better orators and diſputants; and it is the ignorance of people about the divine gift, that cauſes that vulgar and miſchievous miſtake. *Theory* and *practice*, *ſpeculation* and *enjoyment*, *words* and *life*, are two things. O it is the penitent, the reformed, the lowly, the watchful, the ſelf-denying and holy ſoul, that is the *Chriſtian!* and that frame is the fruit and work of the *Spirit*, which is the life of Jeſus: whoſe life, though hid, in the fulneſs of it, in God the Father, is ſhed abroad in the hearts of them that truly believe, according to their capacity. O that people did but know this to cleanſe them, to circumciſe them, to quicken them, and to make them *new* creatures indeed! *re*-created, or *re*-generated, after Chriſt Jeſus, unto good works; that they might live to God, and not to themſelves; and offer up *living* prayers and *living* praiſes, to the living God, through his own living ſpirit, in which he is only to be worſhipped in this goſpel day.

O that they that read me could but feel me! for my heart is affected with this *merciful viſitation* of the Father of lights and ſpirits to this poor nation, and the whole world, through the ſame teſtimony. Why ſhould the inhabitants thereof reject it? Why ſhould they loſe the bleſſed benefit of it? Why ſhould they not turn to the Lord with all their hearts, and ſay from the heart, 'Speak, Lord, for now thy poor ſervants hear? O 'that thy will may be done; thy great, thy good, and 'holy will, in earth, as it is in heaven! Do it in us, do

'it upon us, do what thou wilt with us; for we are 'thine, and deſire to glorify thee, our Creator, both 'for that, and becauſe thou art our Redeemer; for 'thou art redeeming us from the earth, from the vani-'ties and pollutions of it, to be a peculiar people unto 'thee.' O this were a brave day for England, if ſo ſhe could ſay in truth! But, alas! the caſe is otherwiſe; for which ſome of thine inhabitants, O land of my nativity! have mourned over thee with bitter wailing and lamentation. Their heads have been indeed as "waters, and their eyes as fountains of tears," becauſe of thy tranſgreſſion and ſtiff-neckedneſs; becauſe thou wilt not hear, and fear, and return to the rock, even *thy* rock, O England! from whence thou art hewn. But be thou warned, O land of great profeſſion, to receive him into thy heart. Behold, *at that door* it is he hath ſtood ſo long knocking! but thou wilt yet have none of him. O be thou awakened, leſt Jeruſalem's *judgments* do ſwiftly overtake thee, becauſe of Jeruſalem's *ſins* that abound in thee. For ſhe abounded in *formality*, but made *void* the weighty things of God's law, as thou daily doſt.

She withſtood the Son of God in the *fleſh*, and *thou* reſiſteſt the Son of God in the *ſpirit*. He would have gathered *her*, as an hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ſhe would not; ſo would he have gathered *thee* out of thy *lifeleſs* profeſſion, and have brought thee to inherit *ſubſtance*; to have known his power and kingdom: for which he often knocked *within*, by his grace and Spirit; and *without*, by his ſervants and witneſſes: but, on the contrary, as Jeruſalem of old perſecuted the manifeſtation of the Son of God in the fleſh, and crucified him, and whipped and impriſoned his ſervants; ſo haſt thou, O land! crucified to thyſelf *afreſh* the Lord of life and glory, and done *deſpite* to his Spirit of grace; ſlighting the Fatherly viſitation, and perſecuting the bleſſed diſpenſers of it by thy laws and magiſtrates; though they have early and late pleaded with thee, in the power and Spirit of the Lord, in love and meekneſs, that thou mighteſt

know the Lord, and ſerve him, and become the glory of all lands.

But thou haſt evilly entreated and requited them, thou haſt ſet at *nought* all their counſel, and wouldeſt have *none* of their reproof, as thou ſhouldeſt have had. Their appearance was *too ſtrait*, and their qualifications were *too mean* for thee to receive them; like the Jews of old, that cried, "Is not this the carpenter's ſon, "and are not his brethren among us? Which of the "ſcribes, of the learned (the orthodox) believe in "him?" Propheſying their fall in a year or two, and making and executing of ſevere laws to bring it to paſs: endeavouring to terrify them out of their holy way, or deſtroy them for abiding faithful to it. But thou haſt ſeen how many governments, that roſe againſt them, and determined their downfal, have been overturned and extinguiſhed, and that they are ſtill preſerved, and become a great and a conſiderable people, among the middle ſort of thy numerous inhabitants. And, notwithſtanding the many difficulties, without and within, which they have laboured under, ſince the Lord God Eternal firſt gathered them, they are an increaſing people; the Lord ſtill adding unto them, in divers parts, ſuch as ſhall be ſaved, if they perſevere to the end. And to thee, O England! were they, and are they, lifted up as a ſtandard, and as a city ſet upon a hill, and to the nations round about thee, that in *their* light *thou* mayeſt come to ſee light, even in Chriſt Jeſus, the light of the *world*, and therefore *thy* light and *life too*, if thou wouldeſt but turn from thy many evil ways, and receive and obey it. "For in the light of "the lamb muſt the nations of them that are ſaved "walk," as the ſcripture teſtifies.

Remember, O nation of great profeſſion! how the Lord has waited upon thee ſince the dawning of reformation, and the many mercies and judgments by which he has pleaded with thee; and awake and ariſe out of thy deep ſleep, and yet hear his word in thy *heart*, that thou mayeſt live.

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Let not this thy day of viſitation paſs over thy head, nor neglect thou ſo great ſalvation as is this, which is come to thy houſe, O England! For why ſhouldeſt thou die? O land that God deſires to bleſs! be aſſured it is *he* that has been in the midſt of *this people*, in the midſt of thee; and not a deluſion, as thy miſtaken teachers have made thee believe. And this thou ſhalt find by their marks and fruits, if thou wilt conſider them in the ſpirit of moderation.

CHAP. III.

Of the qualifications *of their miniſtry. Eleven marks that it is* Chriſtian.

I. THEY were *changed* men *themſelves* before they went about to change *others*. Their *hearts* were rent as well as their garments; and they knew the power and work of God upon them. And this was ſeen by the great alteration it made, and their ſtricter courſe of life, and more godly converſation, that immediately followed upon it.

II. They went not forth, or preached, in their *own* time or will, but in the *will of God*; and ſpoke not their own ſtudied matter, but as they were opened and moved of his Spirit, with which they were well acquainted in their own converſion: which cannot be expreſſed to carnal men, ſo as to give them any intelligible account; for to ſuch it is, as Chriſt ſaid, "like "the blowing of the wind, which no man knows "whence it cometh, or whither it goeth." Yet this proof and zeal went along with their miniſtry, that many were turned from their lifeleſs profeſſions, and the evil of their ways, to an inward and experimental knowledge of God, and an holy life, as thouſands can witneſs. And as they freely *received* what they had to ſay from the Lord, ſo they *freely* adminiſtered it to others.

III. The bent and ſtreſs of their miniſtry, was converſion to God; *regeneration* and *holineſs*. Not ſchemes of doctrines and verbal creeds, or new forms of worſhip; but a leaving-off, in religion, the ſuperfluous, and reducing the ceremonious and formal part, and preſſing earneſtly the *ſubſtantial*, the *neceſſary*, and *profitable* part to the ſoul; as all, upon a ſerious reflection, muſt and do acknowledge.

IV. They directed people to a principle *in* themſelves, though not *of* themſelves, by which all that they aſſerted, preached and exhorted others to, might be wrought in them, and known to them, through experience, to be true: which is an high and diſtinguiſhing mark of the truth of their miniſtry, both that they *knew* what they ſaid, and were not afraid of coming to the teſt. For as they were bold from certainty, ſo they required conformity upon no human authority, but upon conviction, and the conviction of *this principle*; which they aſſerted was in them that they *preached* unto, and unto that they directed them, that they might examine and prove the reality of thoſe things which they had affirmed of it, as to its manifeſtation and work in man. And this is more than the many miniſters in the world pretend to. They *declare* of religion, ſay many things true, in *words*, of God, Chriſt, and the Spirit; of holineſs and heaven; that all men ſhould repent and amend their lives, or they will go to hell, &c. but which of them all pretend to ſpeak of their own *knowledge* and *experience?* Or ever directed to a divine principle, or agent, placed of God *in* man, to help him; and how to know it, and wait to feel its power to work that good and acceptable will of God in them.

Some of them, indeed, have ſpoken of the *ſpirit*, and the operations of it to ſanctification, and performance of worſhip to God; but *where*, and *how* to find it, and *wait* in it to perform our duty to God, was yet as a myſtery to be declared by this farther degree of reformation. So that this people did, not only in words, more than equally preſs repentance, converſion, and holineſs, but did it knowingly and experimentally; and

and directed thoſe, to whom they preached, to a ſufficient principle; and told them where it was, and by what tokens they might know it, and which way they might experience the power and efficacy of it to their ſouls happineſs; which is more than *theory* and *ſpeculation*, upon which moſt other miniſters depend: for here is certainty, a bottom upon which man may boldly appear before God in the great day of account.

V. They reached to the inward ſtate and condition of people, which is an evidence of the virtue of their principle, and of their miniſtring from it, and not from their own imaginations, gloſſes, or comments upon ſcripture. For nothing reaches the heart, but what is *from* the heart, or pierces the conſcience, but what comes from a *living* conſcience. Inſomuch as it hath often happened, where people have, under ſecrecy, revealed their ſtate or condition to ſome choice friends, for advice or eaſe, they have been ſo particularly directed in the miniſtry of this people, that they have challenged their friends with diſcovering their ſecrets, and telling their preachers their caſes, to whom a word had not been ſpoken. Yea, the very thoughts and purpoſes of the hearts of many have been ſo plainly detected, that they have, like Nathaniel, cried out, of this inward appearance of Chriſt, "Thou art the "Son of God, thou art the King of Iſrael." And thoſe that have embraced this divine principle, have found this mark of its truth and divinity (that the woman of Samaria did of Chriſt, when in the fleſh, to be the Meſſiah) viz. "It had told them all that ever they had done;" ſhown them their inſides, the moſt inward ſecrets of their hearts, and laid judgment to the line, and righteouſneſs to the plummet; of which thouſands can at this day give in their witneſſes. So that nothing has been affirmed by this people, of the power and virtue of this heavenly principle, that ſuch as have turned to it have not found true, and more; and that one half had not been told to them of what they have ſeen of the power, purity, wiſdom, and goodneſs of God therein.

VI. The

VI. The *accompliſhments* with which this principle fitted even ſome of the meaneſt of this people for their work and ſervice: furniſhing ſome of them with an extraordinary underſtanding in divine things, and an admirable fluency, and taking way of expreſſion; which gave occaſion to ſome to wonder, ſaying of them, as of their Maſter, 'Is not this ſuch a mechanick's 'ſon? How came he by this learning?' As from thence others took occaſion to ſuſpect and inſinuate they were Jeſuits in diſguiſe, who had the reputation of learned men for an age paſt: though there was not the leaſt ground of truth for any ſuch reflection; in that their miniſters are known, the place of their abode, their kindred and education.

VII. That they came forth *low*, and *deſpiſed*, and *hated*, as the primitive Chriſtians did; and not by the help of worldly wiſdom or power, as former reformations, in part, had done: but in all things it may be ſaid, 'This people were brought forth in the croſs; 'in a contradiction to the ways, worſhips, faſhions, and 'cuſtoms of this world; yea, againſt wind and tide, 'that ſo no fleſh might glory before God.'

VIII. They could have *no deſign* to *themſelves* in this work, thus to expoſe themſelves to *ſcorn* and *abuſe*, to ſpend, and be ſpent: leaving wife and children, houſe and land, and all that can be accounted dear to men, with their lives in their hands, being daily in jeopardy, to declare this *primitive meſſage*, revived in their ſpirits by the good Spirit and power of God, viz.

"That God is light, and in him is no darkneſs at all; "and that he has ſent his Son a light into the world, to "enlighten all men in order to ſalvation; and that "they that ſay they have fellowſhip with God, and "are his children and people, and yet walk in darkneſs, "(viz. in diſobedience to the light in their conſciences) "and after the vanity of this world, they *lie*, and do "not the *truth*. But that all ſuch as love the light, "and bring their deeds to it, and walk in the light, "as God is light, the blood of Jeſus Chriſt his Son "ſhould

"ſhould cleanſe them from all ſin." Thus John i. 4, 19. chap. iii. 20, 21. 1 John i. 5, 6, 7.

IX. Their known great conſtancy and patience in ſuffering for their teſtimony, in all the branches of it; and that ſometimes unto *death*, by *beatings*, *bruiſings*, long and crouded *impriſonments*, and noiſome *dungeons*: four of them in New-England, *dying* by the hands of the *executioner*, purely for *preaching* amongſt that people: beſides *baniſhments*, and exceſſive plunders and ſequeſtrations of their *goods* and *eſtates*, almoſt in all parts, not eaſily to be expreſſed, and leſs to have been endured, but by thoſe that have the ſupport of a good and glorious cauſe; *refuſing deliverance* by any *indirect* ways or means, as often as it was offered unto them.

X. That they not only did not ſhow any diſpoſition to *revenge*, when it was at any time in their power, but *forgave* their cruel enemies; ſhewing *mercy* to *thoſe* that had *none* for *them*.

XI. Their *plainneſs* with thoſe in authority, like the ancient prophets, not fearing to tell them, to their faces, of their private and publick ſins; and their prophecies to them of their affliction and downfal, when in the top of their glory. Alſo of ſome national judgments, as of the *plague*, and *fire* of *London*, in expreſs terms; and likewiſe *particular* ones to divers perſecutors, which accordingly overtook them; and were very remarkable in the places where they dwelt, which in time may be made publick, for the glory of God.

Thus, reader, thou ſeeſt this people in their *riſe*, *principles*, *miniſtry*, and *progreſs*, both their general and particular teſtimony; by which thou mayeſt be informed, how, and upon what foot, they ſprang, and became ſo conſiderable a people. It remains next, that I ſhew alſo their *care*, *conduct*, and *diſcipline*, as a Chriſtian and reformed ſociety, that they might be found living up to their own principles and profeſſion. And this the rather, becauſe they have hardly ſuffered more in their character from the unjuſt charge of *error*, than by the falſe imputation of *diſorder*: which calumny, indeed,

deed, has not failed to follow all the true ſteps that were ever made to *reformation*, and under which reproach none ſuffered more than the *primitive Chriſtians themſelves*, that were the honour of Chriſtianity, and the great lights and examples of their own and ſucceeding ages.

CHAP. IV.

Of the diſcipline *and* practice *of this* PEOPLE, *as a religious* ſociety. *The* church power *they own and exerciſe, and that which they* reject *and* condemn: *with the* method *of their proceedings againſt* erring *and* diſorderly *perſons.*

THIS people increaſing daily both in town and country, an holy care fell upon ſome of the elders among them, for the benefit and ſervice of the church. And the firſt buſineſs in their view, after the example of the primitive ſaints, was the *exerciſe* of *charity*; to ſupply the neceſſities of the poor, and anſwer the like occaſions. Wherefore *collections* were early and liberally made, for that and divers other ſervices in the church, and intruſted with faithful men, fearing God, and of good report, who were not weary in well-doing; adding often of *their own*, in large proportions, which they never brought to account, or deſired ſhould be known, much leſs reſtored to them, that none might want, nor any ſervice be retarded or diſappointed.

They were alſo very careful, that every one that belonged to them anſwered their profeſſion in their behaviour among men, upon all occaſions; that they lived peaceably, and were in all things good examples. They found themſelves engaged to record their ſufferings and ſervices: and in caſe of marriage, (which they could not perform in the uſual methods of the nation, but among themſelves) they took care that all things were *clear* between the parties, and all others;

and

and it was then rare that any one entertained an inclination to a perſon on that account, till he or ſhe had communicated it ſecretly to ſome very weighty and eminent friends among them, that they might have a ſenſe of the matter; looking to the counſel and unity of their brethren as of great moment to them. But becauſe the charge of the poor, the number of orphans, marriages, ſufferings, and other matters *multiplied*; and that it was good that the churches were in ſome way and method of proceeding in ſuch affairs among them, to the end they might the better correſpond upon occaſion, where a member of one meeting might have to do with one of another; it pleaſed the Lord, in his wiſdom and goodneſs, to open the underſtanding of the *firſt inſtrument* of this *diſpenſation* of *life*, about a good and orderly way of proceeding; who felt in holy concern to viſit the churches in perſon throughout this nation, to begin and eſtabliſh it among them: and by his *epiſtles*, the like was done in other nations and provinces abroad; which he alſo afterwards viſited, and helped in that ſervice, as ſhall be obſerved when I come to ſpeak of him.

Now the care, conduct, and diſcipline, I have been ſpeaking of, and which are now practiſed among this people, is as followeth.

This godly elder, in every county where he travelled, exhorted them, that *ſome*, out of every meeting for worſhip, ſhould meet together once in the month, to confer about the wants and occaſions of the church. And as the caſe required, ſo thoſe *monthly meetings* were fewer or more in number in every reſpective county: four or ſix meetings for worſhip, uſually making *one monthly meeting for buſineſs*. And accordingly the brethren met him from place to place, and began the ſaid meetings viz. For the *poor*, *orphans*, *orderly walking*, *integrity* to their *profeſſion*, *births*, *marriages*, *burials*, *ſufferings*, &c. And that theſe *monthly meetings* ſhould, in each county, make up *one quarterly meeting*, where the moſt zealous and eminent friends of the country ſhould aſſemble to *communicate*, *adviſe*, and *help* one another,

another, especially when any business seemed difficult, or a *monthly meeting* was tender of determining a matter.

Also that these several *quarterly meetings* should digest the reports of their *monthly meetings*, and prepare one for each respective *county*, against the *yearly meeting*, in which all quarterly meetings resolve; which is held in *London*, where the churches in this nation, and other nations and provinces, meet by *chosen* members of their respective counties, both *mutually* to *communicate* their church-affairs, and to advise, and be advised, in any depending case, to edification. Also to provide a *requisite stock* for the discharge of general expences for general services in the church, not needful to be here particularized.

At these meetings, *any* of the members of the churches may come, if they please, and speak their minds freely, in the fear of God, to any matter: but the mind of each *quarterly* meeting, therein represented, is chiefly understood, as to particular cases, in the sense delivered by the persons deputed, or chosen for that service by the said meeting.

During their yearly meeting, to which their other meetings refer in their order, and naturally resolve themselves, care is taken, by a *select number* for that service, chosen by the general assembly, to draw up the minutes of the said meeting, upon the several matters that have been under consideration therein; to the end that the respective *quarterly* and *monthly* meetings may be informed of all proceedings; together with a general exhortation to holiness, unity, and charity. Of all which proceedings in yearly, monthly, and quarterly meetings, due *record* is kept, by some one appointed for that service, or that hath voluntarily undertaken it. These meetings are opened, and usually concluded, in their solemn waiting upon God, who is sometimes graciously pleased to answer them with as signal evidences of his love and presence, as in any of their meetings for worship.

It

It is farther to be noted, that in these solemn assemblies for the churches service, there is no one *presides* among them, after the manner of the assemblies of other people; CHRIST only being their president, as *he* is pleased to appear, in life and wisdom, in any one or more of them; to whom, whatever be their capacity or degree, the rest adhere with a firm unity, not of authority, but conviction; which is the divine authority and way of Christ's power and spirit in his people: making good his blessed promise, that "he would be "in the midst of his, where, and whenever they were "met together in his name, even to the end of the "world." So be it.

Now it may be expected, I should here set down what sort of authority is exercised by this people, upon such members of their society as correspond not in their lives with their profession, and that are refractory to this good and wholesome order settled among them; and the rather, because they have not wanted their reproach and sufferings from some tongues and pens, upon this occasion, in a plentiful manner.

The power they exercise, is such as Christ has given to his own people, to the end of the world, in the persons of his disciples, viz. 'To *oversee*, *exhort*, *reprove*, 'and, after long suffering and waiting upon the disobedient and refractory, to *disown* them, as any more 'of *their* communion; or that they will any longer 'stand charged, in the sight and judgment of God or 'men, with their conversation or behaviour, as any 'of *them*, until they *repent*.' The subject matter about which this authority, in any of the foregoing branches of it, is exercised, is, first, In relation to *common* and *general practice*: and, secondly, about those things that more strictly refer to their own character and profession, and which distinguish them from all other professors of Christianity; avoiding two extremes, upon which many split, viz. *Persecution* and *libertinism*: that is, a *coercive* power, to *whip* people into the temple; that such as will not conform, though against faith and conscience, shall be punished in their *persons* or *estates*:

or

or leaving all looſe, and at large, as to practice; and ſo unaccountable to all, but God and the magiſtrate. To which hurtful extreme, nothing has more contributed than the abuſe of church-power, by ſuch as ſuffer their paſſion and private intereſts to prevail with them to carry it to outward force and corporal puniſhment. A practice they have been taught to diſlike, by their extreme ſufferings, as well as their known principle for an *univerſal liberty* of *conſcience*.

On the other hand, they equally diſlike an *independency* in ſociety: an *unaccountableneſs*, in practice and converſation, to the *rules* and *terms* of their own communion, and to thoſe that are the members of it. They diſtinguiſh between impoſing any practice that immediately regards *faith* or *worſhip* (which is *never* to be done, or ſuffered, or ſubmitted unto) and requiring Chriſtian compliance with thoſe methods that only reſpect church-buſineſs in its more *civil* part and concern; and that regard the *diſcreet* and *orderly* maintenance of the character of the ſociety, as a *ſober* and *religious* community. In ſhort, what is for the promotion of *holineſs* and *charity*; that men may *practiſe* what they profeſs, *live up* to their own *principles*, and not be at liberty to give the *lie* to their own profeſſion without rebuke, is their *uſe*, and *limit*, of church-power. They compel none *to them*, but oblige thoſe that are *of them* to walk *ſuitably*, or they are *denied* by them: that is all the *mark* they ſet upon them, and the *power* they exerciſe, or judge a Chriſtian ſociety *can* exerciſe, upon thoſe that are the members of it.

The way of their proceeding againſt ſuch as have *lapſed* or *tranſgreſſed*, is this: he is *viſited* by ſome of them, and the matter of fact laid *home* to him, be it any evil practice againſt known and general virtue, or any branch of their particular teſtimony, which he, in common, profeſſeth with them. They labour with him, in much love and zeal, for the good of his ſoul, the honour of God, and reputation of their profeſſion, to *own* his fault, and condemn it in as ample a manner, as the evil or ſcandal was *given* by him; which, for

the moſt part, is performed by ſome *written teſtimony* under the party's hand: and if it ſo happen, that the party prove *refractory*, and is not willing to *clear* the truth they profeſs, from the reproach of his or her evil-doing or unfaithfulneſs, they, after repeated intreaties, and due waiting for a token of repentance, give forth a paper, to *diſown* ſuch a fact, and the party offending; *recording* the ſame, as a teſtimony of their care for the honour of the truth they profeſs.

And if he, or ſhe, ſhall clear their *profeſſion*, and *themſelves*, by ſincere acknowledgment of their fault, and godly ſorrow for ſo doing, they are *received*, and looked upon again as members of their communion. For as *God*, ſo his *true* people, *upbraid no man* after *repentance*.

This is the account I had to give of the people of God called Quakers, as to their riſe, appearance, principles, and practices in this age of the world, both with reſpect to their faith and worſhip, diſcipline, and converſation. And I judge it very proper in this place; becauſe it is to preface the *journal* of the firſt bleſſed and glorious inſtrument of this work, and for a teſtimony to him, in his ſingular qualifications and ſervices, in which he abundantly excelled in this day, and are worthy to be ſet forth as an example to all ſucceeding times, to the glory of the Moſt High God, and for a juſt memorial to that worthy and excellent man, his faithful ſervant and apoſtle to *this* generation of the world.

CHAP. V.

Of the *firſt inſtrument*, or perſon, by whom God was pleaſed to gather this people into the way they profeſs. His name *G. Fox*: his many excellent qualifications; ſhewing a divine, and not an human power, to have been their original in him. His troubles and ſufferings, both from without and within. His end and triumph.

I AM now come to the third head or branch of my preface, viz. the inſtrumental author. For it is natural for ſome to ſay, 'Well; here is the people 'and work, but where and who was the *man*, the *in-* 'ſtrument?' He that, in this age, was ſent to begin this 'work and people?' I ſhall, as God ſhall enable me, declare who and what he was; not only by report of others, but from my own long and moſt inward converſe, and intimate knowledge of him: for which my ſoul bleſſeth God, as it hath often done: and I doubt not, but by that time I have diſcharged myſelf of this part of my preface, my ſerious readers will believe I had good cauſe ſo to do.

The bleſſed inſtrument of, and in, this day of God, and of whom I am now about to write, was *George Fox*, diſtinguiſhed from another of that name, by that other's addition of younger to his name, in all his writings; not that he was ſo in years, but that he was ſo in the truth: but he, alſo, was a worthy man, witneſs, and ſervant of God, in his time.

But this George Fox was born in *Leiceſterſhire*, about the year 1624. He deſcended of honeſt and ſufficient parents, who endeavoured to bring him up, as they did the reſt of their children, in the way and worſhip of the nation: eſpecially his mother, who was a woman accompliſhed above moſt of her degree in the place where ſhe lived. But, from a child, he appeared of another frame of mind from the reſt of his brethren; being more religious, inward, ſtill, ſolid, and

and obſerving beyond his years, as the anſwers he would give, and the queſtions he would put, upon occaſion, manifeſted, to the aſtoniſhment of thoſe that heard him, eſpecially in *divine* things.

His mother taking notice of his ſingular temper, and the gravity, wiſdom, and piety, that very early ſhined through him, refuſing childiſh and vain ſports and company, when very young, ſhe was tender and indulgent over him, ſo that from her he met with little difficulty. As to his employment, he was brought up in country buſineſs; and as he took moſt delight in ſheep, ſo he was very ſkilful in them; an employment that very well ſuited his mind in ſeveral reſpects, both for its innocency and ſolitude; and was a juſt emblem of his after miniſtry and ſervice.

I ſhall not break in upon his own account, which is by much the beſt that can be given; and therefore deſire, what I can, to avoid ſaying any thing of what is ſaid already, as to the particular paſſages of his coming forth: but, in general, when he was ſomewhat above twenty, he left his friends, and viſited the moſt retired and religious people in thoſe parts: and ſome there were, ſhort of few, if any, in this nation, who "waited for the Conſolation of Iſrael, night and "day;" as Zacharias, Anna, and good old Simeon, did of old time. To theſe he was ſent, and theſe he ſought out in the neighbouring counties, and among them he ſojourned till his more ample miniſtry came upon him. At this time he taught, and was an example of, *ſilence*, endeavouring to bring them from ſelf-performances: teſtifying of, and turning them to, the light of Chriſt *within* them, and encouraging them to wait in patience, and to feel the power of it to ſtir in their hearts, that their knowledge and worſhip of God might ſtand in the power of an endleſs life, which was to be found in the light, as it was obeyed in the manifeſtation of it in man. For "in the "Word was life, and that life is the light of men." *Life* in the Word, *light* in men; and life in *men* too, as the light is obeyed: the children of the light living

by the *life* of the Word, by which the Word begets them again to God, which is the *regeneration* and *new birth*; without which there is no coming into the kingdom of God; and to which, whoever comes, is *greater* than *John*; that is, than John's *diſpenſation*, which was not that of the kingdom, but the conſummation of the *legal*, and fore-running of the *goſpel*-times, the time of the kingdom. Accordingly ſeveral meetings were gathered in thoſe parts; and thus his time was employed for ſome years.

In 1652, he being in his uſual retirement, his mind exerciſed towards the Lord, upon a very high mountain, (in ſome of the hither parts of Yorkſhire, as I take it) he had a viſion of the great work of God in the earth, and of the way that he was to go forth in a publick miniſtry, to begin it. He ſaw people, as thick as *motes* in the *ſun*, that ſhould, in time, be brought home to the Lord, that there might be but "One Shepherd and one ſheepfold in all the earth." There his eye was directed northward, beholding a great people that ſhould receive him and his meſſage in thoſe parts. Upon this mountain he was moved of the Lord to found out his *great* and *notable day*, as if he had been in a great auditory; and from thence went north, as the Lord had ſhewn him. And in every place where he came, if not before he came to it, he had his particular exerciſe and ſervice ſhewn to him, ſo that the Lord was his *leader* indeed. For it was not in vain that he travelled; God, in moſt places, ſealing his commiſſion with the convincement of ſome of all ſorts, as well publicans, as ſober profeſſors of religion. Some of the firſt and moſt eminent of thoſe that came forth in a publick miniſtry, and which are now at reſt, were Richard Farnſworth, James Nayler, William Dewſberry, Thomas Aldam, Francis Howgil, Edward Burroughs, John Camm, John Audland, Richard Hubberthorn, T. Taylor, T. Holmes, Alexander Parker, William Simſon, William Caton, John Stubbs, Robert Withers, Tho. Low, Joſiah Cole, John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge, Thomas Salthouſe, and many

many more worthies, that cannot be well here named; together with divers, yet living, of the firſt and great convincement; who after the knowledge of God's purging judgment in themſelves, and ſome time of waiting in ſilence upon him, to feel and receive power from on high, to ſpeak in his name, (which none elſe rightly can, though they may uſe the ſame words) they felt its divine motions, and were frequently drawn forth, eſpecially to viſit the publick aſſemblies, to reprove, inform, and exhort them: ſometimes in markets, fairs, ſtreets, and by the highway-ſide; calling people to repentance, and to turn to the Lord with their hearts, as well as their mouths; directing them to the light of Chriſt within them, to ſee, examine, and conſider their ways by, and to eſchew the evil, and do the good and acceptable will of God. And they ſuffered great hardſhips for this their love and good-will; being often ſtocked, ſtoned, beaten, whipped, and impriſoned; though honeſt men, and of good report where they lived; that had left wives, children, and houſes and lands to viſit them with a living call to repentance. And though the prieſts generally ſet themſelves to oppoſe them, and write againſt them, and inſinuated moſt falſe and ſcandalous ſtories, to defame them; ſtirring up the magiſtrates to ſuppreſs them, eſpecially in thoſe northern parts; yet God was pleaſed ſo to fill them with his living power, and give them ſuch an open door of utterance in his ſervice, that there was a mighty convincement over thoſe parts.

And through the tender and ſingular indulgence of judge Bradſhaw and judge Fell, and colonel Weſt, in the infancy of things, the prieſts were never able to gain the point they laboured for, which was to have proceeded to blood; and, if poſſible, Herod-like, by a cruel exerciſe of the civil power, to have cut them off, and rooted them out of the country. But eſpecially judge Fell, who was not only a check to their rage in the courſe of legal proceedings, but otherwiſe, upon occaſion; and finally countenanced this people.

For his wife receiving the truth with the firſt, it had that influence upon his ſpirit, being a juſt and wiſe man, and ſeeing in his own wife and family a full confutation of all the popular clamours againſt the way of truth, that he covered them what he could, and freely opened his doors, and gave up his houſe to his wife and her friends; not valuing the reproach of ignorant or of evil-minded people; which I here mention, to his or her honour, and which will be, I believe, an honour and a bleſſing to ſuch of their name and family as ſhall be found in that tenderneſs, humility, love and zeal for the truth and people of the Lord.

That houſe was for ſome years, at firſt eſpecially, until the truth had opened its way into the ſouthern parts of this iſland, an eminent receptacle of this people. Others, of good note and ſubſtance in thoſe northern counties, had alſo opened their houſes, together with their hearts, to the many publiſhers, that, in a ſhort time, the Lord had raiſed to declare his ſalvation to the people; and where meetings of the Lord's meſſengers were frequently held, to communicate their ſervices and exerciſes, and comfort and edify one another in their bleſſed miniſtry.

But leſt this may be thought a digreſſion, having touched upon this before, I return to this excellent man: and for his perſonal qualities, both natural, moral, and divine, as they appeared in his converſe with the brethren, and in the church of God, take as follows:

I. He was a man that God endued with a clear and wonderful depth: a diſcerner of others ſpirits, and very much a maſter of his own. And though that ſide of his underſtanding which lay next to the world, and eſpecially the expreſſion of it, might ſound uncouth and unfaſhionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheleſs very profound; and would not only bear to be often conſidered, but the more it was ſo, the more weighty and inſtructing it appeared. And as

abruptly

abruptly and *brokenly* as ſometimes his ſentences would ſeem to fall from him, about divine things, it is well known they were often as *texts* to many fairer declarations. And, indeed, it ſhewed, beyond all contradiction, that *God* ſent him; in that no *art* or *parts* had any ſhare in the *matter* or *manner* of his *miniſtry*; and that ſo many great, excellent, and neceſſary truths, as he came forth to preach to mankind, had therefore nothing of man's wit or wiſdom to recommend them. So that as to man, he was an *original*, being no man's copy. And his miniſtry and writings ſhew they are from one that was not taught of man, nor had learned what he ſaid by ſtudy. Nor were they notional or ſpeculative, but ſenſible and practical truths, tending to converſion and regeneration, and the ſetting up of the kingdom of God in the hearts of men; and the way of it was his work. So that I have many times been overcome in myſelf, and been made to ſay, with my Lord and Maſter, upon the like occaſion, "I "thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, "that thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe and "prudent of this world, and revealed them to babes:" for many times hath my ſoul bowed, in an humble thankfulneſs to the Lord, that he did not chooſe any of the wiſe and learned of this world to be the *firſt* meſſenger, in our age, of his bleſſed truth to men; but that he took one that was not of *high degree*, or *elegant ſpeech*, or *learned* after the way of this world, that his meſſage and work, he ſent him to do, might come with *leſs ſuſpicion*, or jealouſy of human wiſdom and intereſt, and with more *force* and *clearneſs* upon the *conſciences* of thoſe that ſincerely ſought the way of truth in the love of it. I ſay, beholding with the eye of my mind, which the God of heaven had opened in me, the marks of God's finger and hand *viſibly*, in this teſtimony, from the clearneſs of the principle, the power and efficacy of it, in the exemplary ſobriety, plainneſs, zeal, ſteadineſs, humility, gravity, punctuality, charity, and circumſpect care in the government of church affairs, which ſhined in his and

their life and teſtimony that God employed in this work, it greatly confirmed me that it was of *God*, and engaged my ſoul in a deep love, fear, reverence, and thankfulneſs, for his love and mercy therein to mankind: in which mind I remain, and ſhall, I hope, through the Lord's ſtrength, to the end of my days.

II. In his teſtimony or miniſtry, he much laboured to open truth to the people's underſtandings, and to bottom them upon the *principle* and *principal*, Chriſt Jeſus, the light of the world; that by bringing them to ſomething that was from God in themſelves, they might the better know and judge of him and themſelves.

III. He had an extraordinary gift in opening the ſcriptures. He would go to the marrow of things, and ſhew the mind, harmony, and fulfilling of them with much plainneſs, and to great comfort and edification.

IV. The myſtery of the firſt and ſecond Adam, of the fall and reſtoration, of the law and goſpel, of ſhadows and ſubſtance, of the ſervant's and Son's ſtate, and the fulfilling of the ſcriptures in *Chriſt*, and by Chriſt, the True Light, in all that are his, through the obedience of faith, were much of the ſubſtance and drift of his teſtimonies. In all which he was witneſſed to be of God; being ſenſibly felt to ſpeak that which he had received of Chriſt, and was his own experience, in that which never errs nor fails.

V. But, above all, he excelled in *prayer*. The inwardneſs and weight of his ſpirit, the reverence and ſolemnity of his addreſs and behaviour, and the fewneſs and fulneſs of his words, have often ſtruck even ſtrangers with admiration, as they uſed to reach others with conſolation. The moſt awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I muſt ſay, was *his* in prayer. And truly it was a teſtimony he knew and lived nearer to the Lord than other men; for they that know him moſt, will ſee moſt reaſon to approach him with reverence and fear.

VI. He

VI. He was of an *innocent life*, no *busy body*, nor *self-seeker*; neither *touchy* nor *critical*: what fell from him was very inoffensive, if not very edifying. So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company. He exercised no authority but over evil; and that every where, and in all; but with love, compassion, and long-suffering. A most merciful man, as ready to forgive, as unapt to take or give an offence. Thousands can truly say he was of an excellent spirit and savour among them; and because thereof, the most excellent spirits loved him with an unfeigned and unfading love.

VII. He was an *incessant labourer*: for in his younger time, before his many, great and deep sufferings and travails had enfeebled his body for itinerant services, he laboured much in the word and doctrine, and discipline, in England, Scotland, and Ireland; turning many to God, and confirming those that were convinced of the truth, and settling good order, as to church affairs, among them. And towards the conclusion of his travelling services, between the years seventy-one and seventy-seven, he visited the churches of Christ in the plantations in America, and in the United Provinces, and Germany, as his journal relates; to the convincement and consolation of many. After that time he chiefly resided in and about the city of London: and besides his labour in the ministry, which was frequent and serviceable, he writ much, both to them that are within, and those that are without the communion. But the care he took of the affairs of the church in general was very great.

VIII. He was often where the *records* of the business of the church are kept, and where the letters from the many meetings of God's people over all the world use to come: which letters he had read to him, and communicated them to the meeting, that is weekly held, for such services; and he would be sure to stir them up to answer them, especially in suffering cases; shewing great sympathy and compassion upon all such occasions; carefully looking into the respective cases,

and

and endeavouring ſpeedy relief, according to the nature of them. So that the churches, or any of the ſuffering members thereof, were ſure not to be forgotten or delayed in their deſires, if he were there.

IX. As he was unwearied, ſo he was undaunted, in his ſervices for God and his people: he was no more to be moved to fear than to wrath. His behaviour at Derby, Litchfield, Appleby, before Oliver Cromwell, at Launceſton, Scarborough, Worceſter, and Weſtminſter-Hall, with many other places and exerciſes, did abundantly evidence it, to his enemies as well as his friends.

But as, in the primitive times, ſome roſe up againſt the bleſſed apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, even from among thoſe that they had turned to the hope of the goſpel, and they became their greateſt trouble; ſo this man of God had his ſhare of ſuffering from ſome that were convinced *by* him, who, through prejudice or miſtake, ran againſt him, as one that ſought dominion over conſcience, becauſe he preſſed, by his preſence or epiſtles, a ready and zealous compliance with ſuch good and wholeſome things as tended to an orderly converſation about the affairs of the church, and in their walking before men. That which contributed much to this ill work, was, in ſome, a begrudging of this meek man the love and eſteem he had, and deſerved, in the hearts of the people; and weakneſs in others, that were taken with their groundleſs ſuggeſtions of impoſition and blind obedience.

They would have had every man independent, that as he had the principle in himſelf, he ſhould only ſtand and fall to that, and no body elſe: not conſidering, that the principle is one in all; and though the meaſure of light or grace might differ, yet the nature of it was the ſame; and being ſo, they ſtruck at the ſpiritual unity, which a people, guided by the ſame principle, are naturally led into: ſo that what is an evil to one, is ſo to all, and what is virtuous, honeſt, and of good report to one, is ſo to all, from the ſenſe and ſavour of the one univerſal principle which is common to all,

and

and which the diſaffected alſo profeſs to be the root of all true Chriſtian fellowſhip, and that ſpirit into which the people of God drink, and come to be ſpiritually-minded, and of one heart and one ſoul.

Some weakly miſtook good order in the government of church affairs, for diſcipline in *worſhip*, and that it was ſo preſſed or recommended by him and other brethren. And thereupon they were ready to reflect the ſame things that Diſſenters had very reaſonably objected upon the national churches, that have coercively preſſed conformity to their reſpective creeds and worſhips. Whereas theſe things related *wholly* to *converſation*, and the outward (and as I may ſay) *civil* part of the church; that men ſhould walk up to the principles of their belief, and not be wanting in care and charity. But though ſome have ſtumbled and fallen through miſtakes, and an unreaſonable obſtinacy, even to a prejudice; yet, bleſſed be God, the generality have returned to their firſt love, and ſeen the work of the enemy, that loſes no opportunity or advantage by which he may check or hinder the work of God, and diſquiet the peace of his church, and chill the love of his people to the truth, and one to another; and there is hope of divers of the few that yet are at a diſtance.

In all theſe occaſions, though there was no perſon the diſcontented ſtruck ſo ſharply at, as this good man, he bore all their weakneſs and prejudice, and returned not reflection for reflection; but forgave them their weak and bitter ſpeeches, praying for them that they might have a ſenſe of their hurt, and ſee the ſubtilty of the enemy to rend and divide, and return into their firſt love that thought no ill.

And truly I muſt ſay, that though God had viſibly clothed him with a divine preference and authority, and indeed his very preſence expreſſed a religious majeſty, yet he never abuſed it; but held his place in the church of God with great *meekneſs*, and a moſt engaging *humility* and *moderation*. For upon all occaſions, like his bleſſed Maſter, he was a *ſervant* to *all*; holding and exerciſing his elderſhip in the inviſible power

that

that had gathered them, with reverence to the head, and care over the body; and was received, only in that ſpirit and power of Chriſt, as the firſt and chief elder in this age: who, as he was therefore worthy of double honour, ſo, for the ſame reaſon, it was given by the faithful of this day; becauſe his authority was inward, and not outward, and that he got it and kept it by the love of God, and power of an endleſs life. I write my knowledge, and not report, and my witneſs is *true*; having been with him for weeks and months together on divers occaſions, and thoſe of the neareſt and moſt exerciſing nature; and that by night and by day, by ſea and by land, in this and in foreign countries; and I can ſay, I never ſaw him out of his place, or not a match for every ſervice or occaſion.

For in all things he acquitted himſelf like a man, yea, a ſtrong man, a new and heavenly-minded man, a divine and a naturaliſt, and all of God Almighty's making. I have been ſurpriſed at his queſtions and anſwers in natural things; that whilſt he was ignorant of *uſeleſs* and *ſophiſtical* ſcience, he had in him the grounds of uſeful and commendable knowledge, and cheriſhed it every where. Civil, *beyond* all forms of breeding, in his behaviour: very temperate, eating little, and ſleeping leſs, though a bulky perſon.

Thus he lived and ſojourned among us: and as he lived, ſo he died; feeling the ſame eternal power, that had raiſed and preſerved him, in his laſt moments. So full of *aſſurance* was he, that he triumphed over death; and ſo *even* in his ſpirit to the laſt, as if death were hardly worth notice, or a mention: recommending to ſome of us with him, the diſpatch and diſperſion of an epiſtle, juſt before given forth by him, to the churches of Chriſt throughout the world, and his own books: but, above all, friends; and of all friends, thoſe in *Ireland* and *America*, twice over, ſaying, "Mind poor friends in *Ireland* and *America*."

And to ſome that came in, and inquired how he found himſelf, he anſwered, "Never heed, the Lord's power "is over all weakneſs and death; the ſeed reigns,

"bleſſed

"blessed be the Lord:" which was about four or five hours before his departure out of this world. He was at the great meetings near Lombard-street, on the First-day of the week; and it was the third following, about ten at night, when he left us; being at the house of H. Goldney in the same court. In a good old age he went, after having lived to see his childrens children, in the truth, to many generations. He had the comfort of a short illness, and the blessing of a clear sense to the last: and we may truly say, with a man of God of old, that "being dead, he yet "speaketh;" and though now absent in body, he is "present in Spirit:" neither time nor place being able to interrupt the communion of saints, or dissolve the fellowships of the spirits of the just. His works praise him, because they are to the praise of Him that wrought *by* him, for which his memorial is and shall be blessed. I have done, as to this part of my preface, when I have left this short epitaph to his name, "Many "sons have done virtuously in this day; but, dear "George, thou excellest them all."

CHAP. VI.

Containing five several exhortations. First, general, reminding this people of their primitive integrity and simplicity. Secondly, in particular, to the ministry. Thirdly, to the *young convinced*. Fourthly, to the children of friends. Fifthly, to those that are yet strangers to this people and way, to whom this book, (and that it was preface to in its former edition) may come. All the several exhortations accommodated to their several states and conditions; that all may answer the end of God's glory, and their own salvation.

AND now, Friends, you that profess to walk in the way that this blessed man was sent of God to turn us into, suffer, I beseech you, the word of exhortation, as well fathers as children, and elders as young men.

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The glory of this day, and foundation of the hope that has not made us aſhamed ſince we were a people, you know, is that bleſſed principle of light and life of Chriſt which we profeſs, and direct all people to, as the great and divine inſtrument and agent of man's converſion to God. It was by this that we were firſt touched, and effectually enlightened, as to our inward ſtate; which put us upon the conſideration of our latter end, cauſing us to ſet the Lord before our eyes, and to number our days, that we may apply our hearts to wiſdom. In that day we judged not after the ſight of the eye, or after the hearing of the ear; but according to the light and ſenſe this bleſſed principle gave us, ſo we judged and acted in reference to things and perſons, ourſelves and others; yea, towards God our Maker. For being quickened by it in our inward man, we could eaſily diſcern the difference of things, and feel what was right, and what was wrong, and what was fit, and what not, both in reference to religious and civil concerns. That being the ground of the fellowſhip of all ſaints, it was in that our fellowſhip ſtood. In this we deſired to have a ſenſe of one another, acted towards one another, and all men, in love, faithfulneſs, and fear.

In feeling of the ſtirrings and motions of this principle in our hearts, we drew near to the Lord, and waited to be prepared by it, that we might feel drawings and movings before we approached the Lord in prayer, or opened our mouths in miniſtry. And in our beginning and ending with this, ſtood our comfort, ſervice, and edification. And as we ran faſter, or fell ſhort, we made burthens for ourſelves to bear; our ſervices finding in ourſelves a rebuke, inſtead of an acceptance; and in lieu of *well done*, "Who has required *this* at "your hands?" In that day we were an exerciſed people, our very countenances and deportment declared it.

Care for others was then much upon us, as well as for ourſelves; eſpecially of the young convinced. Often had we the burthen of the word of the Lord to our neigh-

neighbours, relations, and acquaintance; and ſometimes ſtrangers alſo. We were in travail likewiſe for one another's preſervation; not ſeeking, but ſhunning, occaſions of any coldneſs or miſunderſtanding; treating one another as thoſe that believed and felt God preſent. Which kept our converſation innocent, ſerious, and weighty; guarding ourſelves againſt the cares and friendſhips of the world. We held the truth in the Spirit of it, and not in our own ſpirits, or after our own will and affections.

They were bowed and brought into ſubjection; inſomuch that it was viſible to them that knew us. We did not think ourſelves at our own diſpoſal, to go where we liſt, or ſay or do what we liſt, or when we liſt. Our liberty ſtood in the liberty of the Spirit of truth; and no pleaſure, no profit, no fear, no favour could draw us from this retired, ſtrict, and watchful frame. We were ſo far from ſeeking occaſion of company, that we avoided them what we could; purſuing our own buſineſs with moderation, inſtead of meddling with other people's unneceſſarily.

Our words were few and ſavoury, our looks compoſed and weighty, and our whole deportment very obſervable. True it is, that this retired and ſtrict ſort of life from the liberty of the converſation of the world, expoſed us to the cenſures of many, as humouriſts, conceited and ſelf-righteous perſons, &c. But it was our preſervation from many ſnares, to which others were continually expoſed, by the prevalency of the luſt of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life, that wanted no occaſions or temptations to excite them abroad in the converſe of the world.

I cannot forget the humility and chaſte zeal of that day. O, how conſtant at meetings, how retired in them, how firm to truth's life, as well as truth's principles! and how intire and united in our communion! as indeed became thoſe that profeſs one head, even Chriſt Jeſus the Lord.

This being the teſtimony and example the man of God, before-mentioned, was ſent to declare and leave amongſt

amongſt us, and we having embraced the ſame, as the merciful viſitation of God to us, the word of exhortation at this time is, 'That we continue to be found 'in the way of this teſtimony, with all zeal and integrity; and ſo much the more, by how much the 'day draweth near.'

And firſt, as to you, my beloved and much honoured brethren in Chriſt, that are in the exerciſe of the miniſtry: O, feel *life* in your miniſtry! let *life* be your commiſſion, your well-ſpring and treaſury, in all ſuch occaſions; elſe, you well know, there can be no begetting to God; ſince nothing can quicken or make people alive to God, but the life of God: and it muſt be a miniſtry in and from life, that enlivens any people to God. We have ſeen the fruit of all other miniſters, by the few that are turned from the evil of their ways. It is not our *parts*, or *memory*, the repetition of *former* openings, in our own will and time, that will do God's work. A dry doctrinal miniſtry, however ſound in words, can reach but the *ear*, and is but a dream at the beſt: there is another ſoundneſs, that is ſoundeſt of all, viz. 'Chriſt, the power of God.' This is "the key "of David, that opens, and none ſhuts; and ſhuts, "and none can open:" as the oil to the lamp, and the ſoul to the body, ſo is *that* to the beſt of words. Which made Chriſt to ſay, "My words, they are ſpirit, "and they are life;" that is, 'they are *from* life, and 'therefore they make you alive, that *receive* them.' If the diſciples, that had lived with Jeſus, were to ſtay at Jeruſalem, till *they* received it; much more muſt *we* wait to receive before we miniſter, if we will turn people from darkneſs to light, and from ſatan's power to God.

I fervently bow my knees to the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that you may always be like-minded, that you may ever *wait reverently* for the coming and opening of the word of life, and attend upon it in your miniſtry and ſervice, that you may ſerve God in his Spirit. And be it little, or be it much, it is well; for much is not *too* much, and the leaſt is

enough,

enough, if from the motion of God's Spirit; and without it, verily, never ſo little is too much, becauſe to no profit.

For it is the Spirit of the Lord immediately, or through the miniſtry of his ſervants, that teacheth his people to profit; and, to be ſure, ſo far as we take *him* along with us in our ſervices, ſo far we are profitable, and no farther. For if it be the Lord that muſt work all things in us for our ſalvation, much more is it the Lord that muſt work in us for the converſion of *others*. If therefore it was once a croſs to us to *ſpeak*, though the Lord *required* it at our hands; let us never be ſo to be *ſilent*, when he does *not*.

It is one of the moſt dreadful ſayings in the book of God, That "he that adds to the words of the pro-"phecy of this book, God will add to him the plagues "written in this book." To keep back the counſel of God, is as terrible; for "he that takes away from the "words of the book of this prophecy, God ſhall "take away his part out of the book of life." And truly, it has great caution in it, to thoſe that *uſe* the name of the Lord, to be well aſſured the Lord ſpeaks, that they may not be found of the number of thoſe that add to the words of the teſtimony of prophecy, which the Lord giveth them to bear; nor yet to mince or diminiſh the ſame, both being ſo very offenſive to God.

Wherefore, brethren, let us be careful neither to *out-go* our guide, nor yet loiter *behind* him; ſince he that makes haſte, may *miſs* his *way*, and he that ſtays *behind*, loſe his *guide*. For even thoſe that have *received* the word of the Lord, had need wait for wiſdom, that they may ſee how to divide the word aright: which plainly implieth, that it is poſſible for one, that hath received the word of the Lord, to miſs in the *dividing* and *application* of it, which muſt come from an *impatiency* of ſpirit, and a *ſelf-working*, which makes an unſound and dangerous *mixture*; and will hardly beget a right-minded living people to God.

I am earneſt in this, above all conſiderations, as to publick brethren; well knowing how much it concerns the preſent and future ſtate and preſervation of the church of Chriſt Jeſus, that has been gathered and built up by a living and powerful miniſtry, that the miniſtry be held, preſerved, and continued in the manifeſtations, motions, and ſupplies of the ſame *life* and *power*, from time to time.

And where-ever it is obſerved, that any do miniſter more from *gifts* and *parts*, than *life* and *power*, though they have an enlightened and doctrinal underſtanding, let them in time be adviſed and admoniſhed for their preſervation; becauſe, inſenſibly, ſuch will come to depend upon a *ſelf-ſufficiency*, to forſake Chriſt, the *living fountain*, and hew out unto themſelves *ciſterns*, that will hold no living waters: and, by degrees, ſuch will come to draw others from waiting upon the gift of God in themſelves, and to feel it in others in order to their ſtrength and refreſhment, to wait upon *them*, and to turn from God to *man* again, and ſo make ſhipwreck of the faith, once delivered to the ſaints, and of a good conſcience towards God; which are only kept by that divine gift of life, that begat the one, and awakened and ſanctified the other, in the beginning.

Nor is it enough, that we have known the divine gift, and in it have reached to "the ſpirits in priſon," and been the inſtruments of the convincing of others of the way of God, if we keep not as low and poor in ourſelves, and as depending upon the Lord, as ever: ſince no *memory*, no *repetitions* of *former* openings, revelations, or enjoyments, will bring a ſoul to God, or afford *bread* to the hungry, or *water* to the thirſty, unleſs *life* go with what we ſay, and that muſt be *waited* for.

O that we may have *no other* fountain, treaſure, or dependence! That none may preſume, at any rate, to act of themſelves *for* God, becauſe they have long acted *from* God; that we may not ſupply want of waiting with our own wiſdom, or think that we may take leſs care, and more liberty in ſpeaking than formerly; and that where we do not feel the Lord, by his

his power, to open us and enlarge us, whatever be the expectation of the people, or has been our cuſtomary ſupply and character, we may not exceed, or fill up the time, with our own.

I hope we ſhall ever remember, who it was that ſaid, "Of yourſelves you can do nothing:" our ſufficiency is in Him. And if we are not to ſpeak our own *words*, or take *thought* what we ſhould ſay to men in our defence, when expoſed for our teſtimony; ſurely we ought to ſpeak none of our *own words*, or take *thought* what we ſhall ſay, in our teſtimony and miniſtry, in the name of the Lord, to the ſouls of the people: for then, of all times, and of all other occaſions, ſhould it be fulfilled in us, "for it is not you "that ſpeak, but the Spirit of my Father that ſpeak-"eth in you."

And, indeed, the *miniſtry* of the Spirit muſt, and does, keep its analogy and agreement with the *birth* of the Spirit; that as no man can inherit the kingdom of God, "unleſs he be born of the Spirit," ſo no miniſtry can beget a ſoul to God, but that which is *from* the Spirit. For this, as I ſaid before, the diſciples waited before they went forth; and in this, our elder brethren, and meſſengers of God in our day, waited, viſited, and reached us; and having *begun* in the *Spirit*, let none ever hope or ſeek to be made *perfect* in the *fleſh*: for what is the fleſh to the Spirit, or the chaff to the wheat? And if we keep in the *Spirit*, we ſhall keep in the *unity* of it, which is the ground of the *fellowſhip*. For by *drinking* into that *one Spirit*, we are made *one people* to God, and by it we are continued in the unity of the faith, and the bond of peace. No *envying*, no *bitterneſs*, no *ſtrife*, can have place with us. We ſhall watch always for good, and not for evil, one over another; and rejoice exceedingly, and not begrudge at one another's increaſe in the riches of the grace with which God repleniſheth his faithful ſervants.

And, brethren, as to you is committed the diſpenſation of the oracles of God, which give you frequent opportunities, and great place, with the people among

whom you travel, I beſeech you that you would not think it ſufficient to declare the word of life in their aſſemblies, however edifying and comfortable ſuch opportunities may be to you and them: but, as was the practice of the man of God before-mentioned, in great meaſure, when among us, inquire the *ſtate* of the ſeveral churches you viſit; who among them are *afflicted* or *ſick*, who are *tempted*, and if any are *unfaithful* or *obſtinate*; and endeavour to iſſue thoſe things in the wiſdom and power of God, which will be a glorious crown upon your miniſtry. As *that* prepares your way in the hearts of the people, to receive you as men of God, ſo it gives you credit with them to do them good by your advice in other reſpects; the afflicted will be comforted by you, the tempted ſtrengthened, the ſick refreſhed, the unfaithful convicted and reſtored, and ſuch as are obſtinate, ſoftened and fitted for reconciliation, which is clinching the nail, and applying and faſtening the general teſtimony, by this particular care of the ſeveral branches of it, in reference to them more immediately concerned in it.

For though good and wiſe men, and elders too, may reſide in ſuch places, who are of worth and importance in the general, and in other places; yet it does not always follow, that they may have the room they deſerve in the hearts of the people they live among; or ſome particular occaſion may make it unfit for him or them to uſe that authority. But you that travail as God's meſſengers, if they receive you in the greater, ſhall they refuſe you in the leſs? And if they own the *general* teſtimony, can they withſtand the particular application of it, in their own caſes? Thus, ye will ſhew yourſelves workmen indeed, and carry your buſineſs before you, to the praiſe of his name, that hath called you from darkneſs to light, that you might turn others from ſatan's power unto God and his kingdom, which is within. And O that there were more of ſuch faithful labourers in the vineyard of the Lord! Never more need, ſince the day of God.

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Wherefore I cannot but cry and call aloud to you, that have been long profeſſors of the truth, and know the truth in the convincing power of it, and have had a ſober converſation among men, yet content yourſelves only to know truth for yourſelves, to go to meetings, and exerciſe an ordinary charity in the church, and an honeſt behaviour in the world, and limit yourſelves within thoſe bounds; feeling little or no concern upon your ſpirits for the glory of the Lord in the proſperity of his truth in the earth, more than to be glad that others ſucceed in ſuch ſervice: ariſe ye, in the name and power of the Lord Jeſus! Behold how white the fields are unto harveſt, in this and other nations, and how few able and faithful labourers there are to work therein! Your country folks, neighbours, and kindred, want to know the Lord and his truth, and to walk in it. Does nothing lie at your door upon their account? Search and ſee, and loſe no time, I beſeech you, for the Lord is at hand.

I do not judge you; there is One that judgeth all men, and his judgment is true. You have mightily increaſed in your outward ſubſtance: may you equally increaſe in your inward riches, and do good with both, while you have a day to do good. Your enemies would once have taken what you had from you, for his name's ſake, in whom you have believed; wherefore he has given you much of the world, in the face of your enemies. But, O, let it be your ſervant, and not your maſter! Your diverſion, rather than your buſineſs! Let the Lord be chiefly in your eye, and ponder your ways, and ſee if God has nothing more for you to do: and if you find yourſelf ſhort in your account with him, then wait for his preparation, and be ready to receive the word of command, and be not weary of well-doing, when you have put your hand to the plough; and aſſuredly you ſhall reap, if you faint not, the fruit of your heavenly labour in God's everlaſting kingdom.

And, you young-convinced ones, be you intreated and exhorted to a *diligent* and *chaſte* waiting upon God,

in the way of his bleſſed manifeſtation and appearance of himſelf to you. Look not out, but within: let not another's liberty be your ſnare: neither act by *imitation*, but *ſenſe* and *feeling* of God's power in yourſelves: cruſh not the tender buddings of it in your ſouls, nor *over-run*, in your deſires, and warmneſs of affections, the holy and gentle motions of it. Remember it is a *ſtill voice*, that ſpeaks to us in this day; and that it is not to be heard in the *noiſes* and *hurries* of the mind; but it is diſtinctly underſtood in a *retired frame*. Jeſus *loved* and *choſe* ſolitudes; often going to mountains, gardens, and ſea-ſides, to avoid crowds and hurries, to ſhew his diſciples it was good to be ſolitary, and ſit looſe to the world. Two enemies lie near your ſtates, *imagination* and *liberty*; but the plain, practical, living, holy truth, that has convinced you, will preſerve you, if you mind it in yourſelves, and bring all thoughts, inclinations, and affections, to the teſt of it, to ſee if they are wrought in God, or of the enemy, or your ownſelves: ſo will a true taſte, diſcerning, and judgment, be preſerved to you, of what you ſhould do and leave undone. And in your diligence and faithfulneſs in this way you will come to inherit ſubſtance; and Chriſt, the eternal wiſdom, will fill your treaſury. And when you are *converted*, as well as convinced, then *confirm* your brethren; and be *ready* to every good *word* and *work*, that the Lord ſhall call you to; that you may be to his praiſe, who has choſen you to be partakers, with the ſaints in light, of a kingdom that cannot be ſhaken, an inheritance incorruptible in eternal habitations.

And now, as for you, that are the children of God's people, a great concern is upon my ſpirit, for your good: and often are my knees bowed to the God of your fathers, for you, that you may come to be partakers of the ſame divine life and power, that have been the glory of this day; that a generation you may be to God, "an holy nation, and a peculiar people, "zealous of good works," when all our heads are laid in the duſt. O you young men and women! Let

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it not ſuffice you, that you are the children of the people of the Lord; you muſt alſo be *born again*, if you will inherit the kingdom of God. Your fathers are but ſuch after the fleſh, and could but beget you into the likeneſs of the *firſt* Adam; but you muſt be begotten into the likeneſs of the *ſecond* Adam, by a ſpiritual generation, or you will not, you cannot, be of his children or off-ſpring. And, therefore, look carefully about you, O ye children of the children of God! conſider your ſtanding, and ſee what you are, in relation to this divine kindred, family, and birth! Have you obeyed the light, and received and walked in the Spirit, which is the incorruptible ſeed of the word and kingdom of God, of which you muſt be born again. God is no reſpecter of *perſons*. The father cannot ſave or anſwer for the child, or the child for the father; but in the ſin thou ſinneſt thou ſhalt die; and in the righteouſneſs thou doſt, through Chriſt Jeſus, thou ſhalt live; for it is the willing and obedient that ſhall eat the good of the land. "Be "not deceived, God is not mocked; ſuch as all na-"tions and people ſow, ſuch they ſhall reap at the "hand of the juſt God." And then your many and great privileges, above the children of other people, will add weight in the ſcale againſt you, if you chuſe not the way of the Lord. For you have had "line "upon line, precept upon precept," and not only good *doctrine*, but good *example*; and, which is more, you have been turned to, and acquainted with, a principle in yourſelves, which others have been ignorant of: and you know you may be as good as you pleaſe, without the fear of frowns and blows, or being turned out of doors, and forſaken of *father* and *mother*, for God's ſake, and his holy religion, as has been the caſe of ſome of *your fathers*, in the day they firſt entered into this holy path. And if you, after hearing and ſeeing the wonders that God has wrought in the deliverance and preſervation of them, through a ſea of troubles, and the manifold temporal, as well as ſpiritual bleſſings, that he has filled them with, in the ſight of their ene-

mies, ſhould neglect and turn their backs upon ſo *great* and *near* a ſalvation, you would not only be moſt ungrateful children to God and them, but muſt expect that God will call the children of thoſe that knew him not, to take the crown out of your hands, and that your lot will be a dreadful judgment at the hand of the Lord: but O that it may never be ſo with any of you! the Lord forbid! ſaith my ſoul.

Wherefore, O ye young men and women, look to the Rock of your fathers: there is no other God but him, no other light but his, no other grace but his, nor Spirit but his, to convince you, quicken and comfort you; to lead, guide, and preſerve you to God's everlaſting kingdom: ſo will you be poſſeſſors, as well as profeſſors, of the truth, embracing it not only by education, but judgment and conviction, from a ſenſe begotten in your ſouls, through the operation of the eternal Spirit and power of God; by which you may come to be the ſeed of Abraham, through faith, and the "circumciſion not made with hands;" and ſo heirs of the promiſe made to the fathers, of an "incorruptible crown." That, as I ſaid before, a generation you may be to God, holding up the profeſſion of the bleſſed truth in the life and power of it. For *formality* in religion is nauſeous to God and good men; and the more ſo, where any form and appearance has been new and peculiar, and begun and practiſed, upon a principle, with an *uncommon* zeal and ſtrictneſs. Therefore, I ſay, for *you* to fall flat and formal, and continue the profeſſion, without that ſalt and ſavour, by which it is come to obtain a *good report* among *men*, is not to anſwer God's love, or your parents care, or the mind of truth in yourſelves, or in thoſe that are without: who, though they will not obey the truth, have ſight and ſenſe enough to ſee if *they* do that make a profeſſion of it. For where the divine virtue of it is not felt in the ſoul, and waited for, and lived in, imperfections will quickly break out, and ſhew themſelves, and detect the unfaithfulneſs of ſuch perſons; and

that

that their inſides are not ſeaſoned with the nature of that holy principle which they profeſs.

Wherefore, dear children, let me intreat you to *ſhut* your *eyes* at the temptations and allurements of this low and periſhing world, and not ſuffer your affections to be captivated by thoſe luſts and vanities, that your fathers, for the truth's ſake, long ſince turned their backs upon: but as you believe it to *be* the truth, receive it into your *hearts*, that you may become the children of God: ſo that it may never be ſaid of you, as the evangeliſt writes of the Jews in his time, that "Chriſt," the true light, "came to his own, but his "own received him not: but to as many as received "him, to them he gave power to become the children "of God; which were born, not of blood, nor of "the will of the fleſh, nor of the will of man, but "of God." A moſt cloſe and comprehenſive paſſage to this occaſion. You exactly, and peculiarly, anſwer to thoſe profeſſing Jews, in that you bear the name of God's people, by being the children, and wearing the form of God's people: and *he*, by his *light* in you, may be very well ſaid to come to his *own*; and if you obey it not, but turn your back upon it, and walk after the vanities of your minds, you will be of thoſe that *received* him not; which I pray God may never be your caſe and judgment. But that you may be thoroughly ſenſible of the many and great obligations you lie under to the Lord for his love, and to your parents for their care: and with all your *heart*, and all your *ſoul*, and all your *ſtrength*, turn to the *Lord*, to his gift and Spirit in you, and hear his *voice*, and *obey* it, that you may *ſeal* to the teſtimony of your fathers, by the truth and evidence of your own *experience*; that your childrens children *may bleſs you*, and the Lord *for you*, as thoſe that delivered a faithful *example*, as well as record, of the truth of God unto them. So will the grey hairs of your dear parents, yet alive, "go down to the grave with joy," to ſee you the poſterity of *truth*, as well as *theirs*; and that

not

not only their nature, but ſpirit, ſhall live *in* you when they are gone.

I ſhall conclude this account with a few words to thoſe that are not of our communion, into whoſe hands this may come; eſpecially thoſe of our own nation.

FRIENDS,

As you are the ſons and daughters of Adam, and my brethren after the fleſh, often and earneſt have been my deſires and prayers to God on your behalf, that you may come to know your Creator to be your *Redeemer* and *Reſtorer* to the holy image, that through ſin you have loſt, by the power and Spirit of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, whom he hath given for the light and life of the world. And O that you, who are called Chriſtians, would receive him into your *hearts!* for *there* it is you want him, and at *that* door he ſtands knocking, that you might let him in, but you do not open to him: you are full of other gueſts, ſo that a manger is his lot among you now, as well as of old. Yet you are full of profeſſion, as were the Jews when he came among them, who knew him not, but rejected and evilly intreated him. So that if you come not to the poſſeſſion and experience of what you *profeſs*, all your formality in religion will ſtand you in no ſtead in the day of God's judgment.

I beſeech you ponder with yourſelves your eternal condition, and ſee what *title*, what ground and foundation you have for your Chriſtianity: if more than a profeſſion, and an hiſtorical belief of the goſpel? Have you known the *baptiſm of fire*, and the *Holy Ghoſt*, and the *fan* of Chriſt that winnows away the *chaff* in your minds, and *carnal luſts* and *affections?* That divine *leaven* of the kingdom, that, being received, leavens the *whole lump* of man, ſanctifying him *throughout*, in body, ſoul, and ſpirit? If this be not the ground of your confidence, you are in a miſerable eſtate.

You

You will ſay, perhaps, that though you are ſinners, and live in daily commiſſion of ſin, and are not ſanctified, as I have been ſpeaking, yet you have faith in Chriſt, who has borne the curſe for you, and in him you are complete by faith, his righteouſneſs being imputed to you.

But, my friends, let me intreat you not to deceive yourſelves, in ſo important a point, as is that of your immortal ſouls. If you have *true* faith in Chriſt, your faith will make you *clean*; it will ſanctify you: for the ſaints *faith* was their *victory* of old: by this they overcame ſin *within*, and ſinful men *without*. And if thou art in Chriſt, thou walkeſt not after the *fleſh*, but after the *ſpirit*, whoſe fruits are manifeſt. Yea, thou art a *new creature:* new-made, new-faſhioned, after God's will and mould. Old things are done away, and behold, all things are become *new:* new *love*, *deſires*, *will*, *affections*, and *practices*. It is not any longer *thou* that liveſt; thou *diſobedient*, *carnal*, *worldly* one; but it is *Chriſt* that liveth *in* thee: and to live is Chriſt, and to die is thy eternal gain: becauſe thou art aſſured, "That thy corruptible ſhall put on incor-"ruption, and thy mortal, immortality; and that "thou haſt a glorious houſe, eternal in the heavens, "that will never wax old, or paſs away." All this follows being in Chriſt, as *heat* follows *fire*, and *light* the *ſun*.

Therefore have a care how you preſume to rely upon ſuch a notion, as that you are in *Chriſt*, whilſt in your old *fallen nature*. "For what communion hath "light with darkneſs, or Chriſt with Belial?" Hear what the beloved diſciple tells you: "If we ſay we "have fellowſhip with God, and walk in darkneſs, we "lie, and do not the truth." This is, if we go on in a ſinful way, are captivated by our carnal affections, and are not converted to God, we walk in darkneſs, and cannot poſſibly, in *that* ſtate, have any fellowſhip with God. Chriſt *clothes them* with his *righteouſneſs*, that *receive* his grace in their hearts, and deny *themſelves*,

ſelves, and take up *his croſs daily*, and *follow* him. Chriſt's righteouſneſs makes men *inwardly* holy; of holy minds, wills, and practices. It is, nevertheleſs, *Chriſt's*, though we have it; for it is ours not by *nature*, but by *faith* and *adoption*: it is the gift of *God*. But ſtill, though *not* ours, as of or from *ourſelves*, (for in that ſenſe it is *Chriſt's*, for it is of and from *him*); yet it *is* ours, and *muſt be* ours, in *poſſeſſion*, *efficacy*, and *enjoyment*, to do us any *good*; or Chriſt's righteouſneſs will profit us *nothing*. It was after *this* manner that he was made to the primitive Chriſtians, "righteouſneſs, ſanctification, juſtification, "and redemption:" and if ever you will have the *comfort*, *kernel*, and *marrow* of the *Chriſtian religion*, thus you muſt come to learn and obtain it.

Now, my friends, by what you have read, and will read in what follows, you may perceive that God has viſited a poor people among you with this ſaving knowledge and teſtimony; whom he has upheld and increaſed to this day, notwithſtanding the fierce oppoſition they have met withal. Deſpiſe not the meanneſs of this appearance: it was, and yet is, (we know) a day of *ſmall* things, and of ſmall account with too many; and many hard and ill names are given to it: but it is of *God*, it came *from* him, becauſe it leads *to* him.

This we know; but we cannot make another to know it, unleſs he will take the *ſame way* to know it that we took. The world *talks* of God, but what do they *do?* They pray for *power*, but reject the *principle* in which it *is*. If you would know God, and worſhip and ſerve God as you ſhould do, you muſt come to the means he has ordained and given for that purpoſe. Some ſeek it in books, ſome in learned men; but what they look for, is *in* themſelves, though not *of* themſelves, but they *overlook* it. The voice is too *ſtill*, the ſeed too *ſmall*, and the light ſhineth in *darkneſs*: they are abroad, and ſo cannot divide the ſpoil: but the woman, that loſt her *ſilver*, found it at *home*, after

after ſhe had *lighted* her *candle*, and *ſwept* her *houſe*. Do you ſo too, and you ſhall find what Pilate wanted to know, viz. *truth*: truth in the inward parts, ſo valuable in the ſight of God.

The light of Chriſt within, who is the light of the *world*, (and ſo a light to *you*, that tells you the truth of your condition) leads all, that take heed unto it, *out of* darkneſs, into God's marvellous light. For light *grows* upon the obedient: "it is *ſown* for the "*righteous*, and their *way* is a ſhining *light*, that ſhines "forth more and more to the perfect day."

Wherefore, O friends, turn *in*, turn *in*, I beſeech you: *where* is the poiſon, *there* is the antidote. *There* you *want* Chriſt, and *there* you muſt *find* him; and, bleſſed be God, there you *may* find him. "Seek, "and you ſhall find," I teſtify for God. But then you muſt ſeek *aright*, with your *whole heart*, as men that ſeek for their lives, yea, for their *eternal* lives, diligently, humbly, patiently, as thoſe that can taſte no pleaſure, comfort, or ſatisfaction in any thing elſe, unleſs you find Him whom your ſouls deſire to know, and love, above *all*. O it is a travail, a *ſpiritual* travail, let the carnal, profane world, think and ſay as it will. And through *this* path you muſt walk to the city of God, that has eternal foundations, if ever you will come there.

Well! And what does this bleſſed light do for you? Why, 1. It ſets all your ſins in order before you: it detects the ſpirit of this world, in all its baits and allurements, and ſhews how man came to fall from God, and the fallen eſtate he is in. 2. It begets a *ſenſe* and *ſorrow*, in ſuch as believe in it, for this fearful lapſe. You will then ſee Him, diſtinctly, whom you have *pierced*, and all the blows and wounds you have given him by your diſobedience, and how you have him to ſerve with your ſins; and you will weep and mourn for it, and your ſorrow will be a *godly* ſorrow. 3. After this, it will bring you to the holy watch, to take care that you do ſo no more, and that the enemy ſurprize

prize you not again. Then *thoughts*, as well as words and works, will come to *judgment*, which is the way of holineſs, in which the redeemed of the Lord do walk. Here you will come to "love God above all, "and your neighbours as yourſelves." Nothing *hurts*, nothing *harms*, nothing makes *afraid*, on this holy mountain. Now you come to be *Chriſt*'s indeed; for you are his in nature and ſpirit, and not your *own*. And when you are *thus* Chriſt's, then Chriſt is *yours*, and not before. And here communion with the Father, and with the Son, you will know, and the efficacy of the blood of cleanſing, even the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, that immaculate Lamb, which "ſpeaks "better things than the blood of Abel;" and which cleanſeth from *all ſin* the conſciences of thoſe, that, through the *living* faith, come to be "*ſprinkled* with "it, from dead works, to ſerve the living God."

To conclude: Behold the teſtimony and doctrine of the people called Quakers! Behold their practice and diſcipline! And behold the bleſſed man and men (at leaſt many of them) that were ſent of God in this excellent work and ſervice! All which is more particularly expreſſed in the annals of that man of God: which I do heartily recommend to my reader's moſt ſerious peruſal; and beſeech Almighty God, that his bleſſing may go along with both, to the convincement of many, as yet ſtrangers to this holy diſpenſation, and alſo to the edification of God's church in general. Who, for his manifold and repeated mercies and bleſſings to his people, in this day of his great love, is worthy ever to have the glory, honour, thankſgiving and renown: and be it rendered and aſcribed, with fear and reverence, through Him in whom he is well pleaſed, his beloved Son and Lamb, our light and life, that ſits with him upon the throne, world without end. Amen!

Says one that God has long ſince mercifully favoured with his fatherly viſitation, and who was not

not disobedient to the heavenly vision and call; to whom the way of truth is more lovely and precious than ever; and that, knowing the beauty and benefit of it, above all worldly treasures, has chosen it for his chiefest joy; and therefore recommends it to thy love and choice, because he is, with great sincerity and affection,

Thy soul's friend,

W. PENN.

PRIMITIVE

not disbodied to the heavenly vision and call, to whom the way of truth is more lovely and precious than ever; and that, knowing the beauty and benefit of it, above all worldly treasure, has chosen it for his obedient joy; and therefore recommends it to thy love and choice, humbly beseeching it with great fervency and affection,

Thy loving friend,

W. P E N N.

PRELIMINARY

PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY REVIVED, IN THE FAITH AND PRACTICE OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

WRITTEN

In Teſtimony to the Preſent Diſpenſation of GOD, through THEM, to the World;

THAT

PREJUDICES may be Removed, the SIMPLE Informed, the WELL-INCLINED Encouraged, and the TRUTH and its innocent FRIENDS Rightly Repreſented.

BY WILLIAM PENN.

Publiſhed in the Year 1696.

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FAITH and PRACTICE

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By WILLIAM PENN.

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PREFACE.

READER,

BY this ſhort enſuing treatiſe, thou wilt perceive the ſubject of it, viz. 'The light of Chriſt in man, 'as the manifeſtation of God's love for man's hap-'pineſs.' Now, foraſmuch as this is the peculiar teſtimony and characteriſtick of the people called Quakers; their great fundamental in religion; that by which they have been diſtinguiſhed from other profeſſors of Chriſtianity in their time, and to which they refer all people about faith, worſhip, and practice, both in their miniſtry and writings; that as the fingers ſhoot out of the hand, and the branches from the body of the tree, ſo true religion, in all the parts and articles of it, ſprings from this divine principle in man. And becauſe the prejudices of ſome are very great againſt this people and their way; and that others, who love their ſerioufneſs, and commend their good life, are yet, through miſtakes, or want of enquiry, under jealouſy of their unſoundneſs in ſome points of faith; and that there are not a few in all perſuaſions, which deſire earneſtly to know and enjoy God in that ſenſible manner this people ſpeak of, and who ſeem to long after a ſtate of holineſs and acceptance with God; but are under doubts and deſpondings of their attaining it, from the want they find in themſelves of inward power to enable them, and are unacquainted with this efficacious agent, which God hath given and appointed for their ſupply:

For theſe reaſons and motives, know, reader, I have taken in hand to write this ſmall tract, 'Of the 'nature and virtue of the light of Chriſt within man;' what, and where it is, and for what end, and therein of the religion of the people called Quakers; that, at the ſame time, all people may be informed of their true character, and what true religion is, and the way

to it, in this age of high pretences, and as deep irreligion. That ſo the merciful viſitation of the God of light and love, (more eſpecially to theſe nations,) both immediately and inſtrumentally, for the promotion of piety, (which is religion indeed) may no longer be neglected by the inhabitants thereof, but that they may come to ſee, and ſay with heart and mouth, 'This is a diſpenſation of love and life from God to 'the world; and this poor people, that we have ſo 'much deſpiſed, and ſo often trod upon, and treated 'as the off-ſcouring of the earth, are the people of 'God, and children of the Moſt High.'

Bear with me, reader; I know what I ſay, and am not high-minded, but fear: for I write with humility towards God, though with confidence towards thee. Not that thou ſhouldeſt believe upon my authority, nothing leſs; for that is not to act upon knowledge, but truſt; but that thou ſhouldeſt try and approve what I write: for that is all I aſk, as well as all I need for thy conviction, and my own juſtification. The whole, indeed, being but a ſpiritual experiment upon the ſoul, and therefore ſeeks for no implicit credit, becauſe it is ſelf-evident to them that will uprightly try it.

And when thou, reader, ſhalt come to be acquainted with this principle, and the plain and happy teachings of it, thou wilt, with us, admire thou ſhouldeſt live ſo long a ſtranger to that which was ſo *near* thee, and as much wonder that other folks ſhould be ſo blind as not to ſee it, as formerly thou thoughteſt us ſingular for obeying it. The day, I believe, is at hand, that will declare this with an uncontroulable authority, becauſe it will be with an unqueſtionable evidence.

I have done, reader, with this preface, when I have told thee, Firſt, That I have ſtated the principle, and opened, as God has enabled me, the nature and virtue of it in religion; wherein the common doctrines and articles of the Chriſtian religion are delivered and improved; and about which, I have endeavoured to expreſs myſelf in plain and proper terms, and not in figurative, allegorical, or doubtful phraſes; that ſo I

may

may leave no room for an equivocal or double ſenſe; but that the truth of the ſubject I treat upon may appear eaſily and evidently to every common underſtanding. Next, I have confirmed what I have writ, by ſcripture, reaſon, and the effects of it upon ſo great a people; whoſe uniform concurrence in the experience and practice thereof, through all times and ſufferings, ſince a people, challenge the notice and regard of every ſerious reader. Thirdly, I have written briefly, that ſo it might be every one's money and reading: and, much in a little is beſt, when we ſee daily the richer people grow, the leſs money or time they have for God or religion: and perhaps thoſe that would not buy a large book, may find in their hearts to give away ſome of theſe for their neighbour's good, being little and cheap. Be ſerious, reader, be impartial, and then be as inquiſitive as thou canſt; and that for thine own ſoul, as well as the credit of this moſt miſunderſtood and abuſed people: and the God and Father of *lights* and *ſpirits*, ſo bleſs *thine*, in the peruſal of this ſhort treatiſe, that thou mayeſt receive real benefit by it, to his glory, and thine own comfort: which is the deſire and end of him that wrote it; who is, in the bonds of Chriſtian charity, very much, and very ardently,

Thy real friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY REVIVED.

CHAP. I.

§. 1. *Their* fundamental principle. §. 2. *The* nature *of it*, §. 3. *Called by ſeveral* names. §. 4. *They refer all to* this, *as to* faith *and* practice, miniſtry, *and* worſhip.

§. 1. THAT which the people called Quakers lay down, as a main fundamental in religion, is this, 'That God, through Chriſt, hath placed a principle in every man to inform him of his duty, and 'to enable him to do it; and that thoſe that live up 'to this principle, are the people of God; and thoſe 'that live in diſobedience to it, are not God's people, 'whatever name they may bear, or profeſſion they may 'make of religion.' This is their ancient, firſt and ſtanding teſtimony: with this they began, and this they bore, and do bear, to the world.

§. 2. By this principle they underſtand ſomething that is divine; and though *in* man, yet not *of* man, but of God; and that it came *from* him, and leads *to* him all thoſe that will be led by it.

§. 3. There are divers ways of ſpeaking they have been led to uſe, by which they declare and expreſs what this principle is, about which I think fit to precaution the reader, viz. they call it, "The *light* of *Chriſt* "within *man*," or, '*light within*,' which is their ancient, and moſt general and familiar phraſe, alſo the [a] *manifeſtation* [b] or *appearance* of *Chriſt*; [c] the [d] *witneſs* of *God*,

[a] John i. 9. [b] Rom. i. 19. Tit. iii. 4. [c] Acts xvii. 28. [d] 2 Pet. iv. Rom. viii. 6. 1 John v. 10, 12.

the [e] *ſeed* of *God*; the [f] *ſeed* of the *kingdom*; [g] *wiſdom*; the [h] *word* in the *heart*; the *grace* [i] that appears to *all men*; the [k] *Spirit* given to *every man* to *profit with*; the [l] *truth* in the *inward parts*; the [m] *ſpiritual leaven*, that leavens the *whole lump* of *man:* which are many of them figurative expreſſions, but all of them ſuch as the Holy Ghoſt hath uſed, and which will be uſed in this treatiſe, as they are moſt frequently in the writings and miniſtry of this people. But that this variety and manner of expreſſion may not occaſion any miſapprehenſion or confuſion in the underſtanding of the reader, I would have him know, that they always mean by theſe terms, or denominations, not *another*, but the *ſame* principle, before mentioned: which, as I ſaid, though it be *in* man, is not *of* man, but of *God*, and therefore *divine:* and *one* in itſelf, though diverſly *expreſſed* by the holy men, according to the various manifeſtations and operations thereof.

§. 4. It is to this principle of light, life, and grace, that this people refer all: for they ſay, it is the great agent in religion; that, without which, there is no *conviction*, ſo no *converſion*, or *regeneration*; and conſequently no entering into the kingdom of God. That is to ſay, there can be no true *ſight* of ſin, nor *ſorrow* for it, and therefore no forſaking or overcoming of it, or remiſſion or juſtification from it. A neceſſary and powerful principle indeed, when neither ſanctification nor juſtification can be had without it. In ſhort, there is no becoming virtuous, holy, and good, without this principle; no acceptance with God, nor peace of ſoul, but through it. But, on the contrary, that the reaſon of ſo much *irreligion* among Chriſtians, ſo much *ſuperſtition*, inſtead of devotion, and ſo much profeſſion without enjoyment, and ſo little heart-reformation, is,

[e] 1 Pet. i. 23. 1 John iii. 9. [f] Mat. xiii. 19, 23. [g] Prov. i. 20, 21, 22, 23. and viii. 1, 2, 3, 4. [h] Deut. xxx. 12. Rom. x. 6, 7, 8. Pſal. cxix. 10. [i] Tit. ii. 11, 12. [k] 1 Cor. xii. 7. 1 Pſal. li. 6. Iſa. xxvi. 2. John xiv. 6. [m] Mat. xiii. 33.

becauſe

becauſe people, in religion, *overlook* this principle, and leave it behind them.

They will be religious *without* it, and Chriſtians without it, though this be the only means of making them ſo indeed. So natural is it to man, in his degenerate ſtate, to prefer ſacrifice before obedience, and to make prayers go for practice, and ſo flatter himſelf to hope, by ceremonial and bodily ſervice, to excuſe himſelf with God from the ſtricter diſcipline of this principle in the ſoul, which leads man to take up the croſs, deny himſelf, and do that which God requires of him: and that is every man's *true* religion, and every ſuch man is truly *religious:* that is, he is *holy, humble, patient, meek, merciful, juſt, kind,* and *charitable*; which, they ſay, no man can make *himſelf*; but that this principle will make them *all* ſo, that will embrace the convictions and teachings of it, being the *root* of all true religion in man, and the good *ſeed* from whence all good fruits proceed. To ſum up what they ſay upon the nature and virtue of it, as contents of that which follows, they declare that this principle is, Firſt, divine. Secondly, univerſal. Thirdly, efficacious: in that it gives man,

Firſt, The knowledge of *God*, and of *himſelf*; and therein, a ſight of his duty, and diſobedience to it.

Secondly, It begets a true *ſenſe* and *ſorrow* for ſin in thoſe that ſeriouſly regard the convictions of it.

Thirdly, It enables them to *forſake* ſin, and *ſanctifies* from it.

Fourthly, It applies God's mercies, in Chriſt, for the *forgiveneſs* of ſins that are paſt, unto juſtification, upon ſuch ſincere repentance and obedience.

Fifthly, It gives, to the faithful, perſeverance unto a perfect man, and the aſſurance of bleſſedneſs, world without end.

To the truth of all which, they call in a threefold evidence: Firſt, The ſcriptures, which give an ample witneſs, eſpecially thoſe of the New and better Teſtament. Secondly, The reaſonableneſs of it in itſelf. And laſtly, a general experience, in great meaſure; but particularly *their* own, made credible by the good fruits they

they have brought forth, and the anſwer God has given to their miniſtry: which, to impartial obſervers, have commended the principle, and gives me occaſion to abſtract their hiſtory, in divers particulars, for a concluſion to this little treatiſe.

CHAP. II.

§. 1. The evidence of *Scripture* for this *Principle*, *John* i. 4. 9. §. 2. Its *divinity*. §. 3. All things *created* by it. §. 4. What it is to *man*, as to ſalvation.

§. 1. I Shall begin with the evidence of the bleſſed ſcriptures of truth, for this divine principle, and that under the name of *light*, the firſt and moſt common word uſed by them, to expreſs and denominate this principle by, as well as moſt apt and proper in this dark ſtate of the world.

John i. 1. "In the beginning was the word, and the "word was with God, and the word was God."

Verſ. 3. "All things were made by him."

Verſ. 4. "In him was life, and that life was the light "of men."

Verſ. 9. "That was the true light, which lighteth "every man that cometh into the world."

§. 2. I have begun with *him*, that began his hiſtory with HIM that was "the beginning of the creation of "God," the moſt beloved diſciple, and longeſt liver of all the apoſtles; and he, that for excellent knowledge and wiſdom in heavenly things, is juſtly intituled 'John the Divine.' He tells us, firſt, What he was in the beginning, viz. *The Word*. "In the begin-"ning was the word."

And though that ſhews what the word muſt be, yet he adds and explains, that the "word was with God, "and the word was God;" leſt any ſhould doubt of the divinity of the word, or have lower thoughts of him than he deſerved. The *word*, then, is *divine*; and an apt term it is, that the evangeliſt ſtiles him by, ſince it

it is ſo great an expreſſion of the wiſdom and power of God to men.

§. 3. "All things were made by him." If ſo, he wants no *power*. And if we were *made* by him, we muſt be *new*-made by him too, or we can never enjoy God. His power ſhews his dignity, and that nothing can be too hard for ſuch a ſufficiency as "made all "things, and without which nothing was made, that "was made." As man's "*maker* muſt be his *huſband*," ſo his *creator* muſt be his *redeemer* alſo.

§. 4. "In him was life, and the life was the light of "men." This is our point. The evangeliſt firſt begins with the *nature* and *being* of the word: from thence he deſcends to the *works* of the word: and laſtly, then he tells us, *what* the word is, with reſpect to *man* above the reſt of the creation, viz. "The word was *life*, and "the life was the *light* of *men*." The relation muſt be very near and intimate, when the very *life* of the *word* (that was *with* God, and *was* God) is the *light* of men; as if men were *next* to the word, and *above* all the reſt of his works; for it is not ſaid ſo of any other creature.

Man cannot want light then; no not a *divine* light: for if *this* be not divine, that is the *life* of the divine *word*, there can be no ſuch thing at all as *divine* or *ſupernatural* light and life. And the text does not only prove the *divinity* of the light, but the *univerſality* of it alſo; becauſe *man*, mentioned in it, is *mankind*: which is yet more diſtinctly expreſſed in his 9th verſe, "*That* "was the *true* light, which lighteth *every man* that "cometh into the world." Implying, that he that lighteth not *mankind*, is not that *true* light; and therefore *John* was not that *light*, but bore witneſs of him that *was*, who *lighteth every man*; to wit, the *word* that took fleſh: ſo that both the divine nature, and univerſality, of the light of Chriſt within, are confirmed together.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

§. 1. How this ſcripture is *wreſted*. §. 2. That it is a *natural* light. §. 3. That it lighteth not *all*. §. 4. That it is only the *doctrine* and *life* of *Chriſt* when in the *fleſh*. *All anſwered, and its divinity and univerſality proved.*

§. 1. BUT though there be no paſſage or propoſition to be found in holy ſcripture, in which mankind is more intereſted, or that is more clearly laid down by the Holy Ghoſt, than this I have produced, yet hardly hath any place been more induſtriouſly wreſted from its true and plain ſenſe: eſpecially ſince this people have laid any ſtreſs upon it, in defence of their teſtimony of the light within. Some will have it to be but a *natural* light, or a *part* of man's *nature*, though it be the very *life* of the *word* by which the world was made; and mentioned within thoſe verſes, which only concern his eternal *power* and *godhead*. But becauſe I would be underſtood, and treat of things with all plainneſs, I will open the terms of the objection as well as I can, and then give my anſwer to it.

§. 2. If by *natural* be meant a *created* thing, as *man* is, or any thing that is requiſite to the *compoſition* of man, I deny it: the text is expreſly againſt it; and ſays, "The "*light* with which man is lighted, is the *life* of the "word, which was with God, and was God." But if by natural is only intended, that the light comes *along with us* into the world, or that we have it as ſure as we are *born*, or have *nature*, and is the *light* of our nature, of our minds, and underſtandings, and is not the reſult of any revelation from *without*, as by angels or men; then we mean and intend the ſame thing. For it is *natural* to man to have a *ſuper*-natural *light*, and for the creature to be lighted by an *uncreated* light, as is the life of the *creating word*. And did people but conſider the *conſtitution* of man, it would conduce much

to

to preſerve or deliver them from any dilemma upon this account. For *man* can be no more a light to his *mind*, than he is to his *body*: he has the capacity of *ſeeing* objects when he has the help of *light*, but cannot be a light to *himſelf*, by which to ſee them. Wherefore as the *ſun* in the firmament is the light of the *body*, and gives us diſcerning in our temporal affairs; ſo the *life* of the *word* is the glorious *light* and *ſun* of the *ſoul*; our *intellectual luminary*, that informs our mind, and gives us true judgment and diſtinction about thoſe things that more immediately concern our better, inward, and eternal man.

§. 3. But others will have this text read thus, 'Not 'that the word enlightens *all mankind*, but that all who 'are enlightened, are enlightened by *him*;' thereby not only narrowing and abuſing the text, but rendering God partial, and ſo ſevere to his creatures, as to leave the greateſt part of the world in darkneſs, without the means or opportunity of ſalvation; though we are aſſured from the ſcriptures, "That *all* have light;[n] "that Chriſt is the light of the *world*;[o] and that he "died for *all*;[p] yea, the ungodly;[q] and that God "deſires not the death of any,[r] but rather that all "ſhould repent, and come to the knowledge of the "truth, and be ſaved; and that the grace of God has "appeared to *all* men,"[s] &c.

§. 4. There is a third ſort that will needs have it underſtood, not of any illumination by a divine light or ſpirit in man, but by the *doctrine* Chriſt preached, and the *life* and *example* he lived, and led in the world; which yet neither reached the thouſandth part of mankind, nor can conſiſt with what the apoſtle John intends in the beginning of his hiſtory, which wholly relates to what Chriſt was before he took fleſh, or, at leaſt, what he is to the ſoul, by his immediate *inſhinings* and *influences*. It is moſt true, Chriſt was, in a ſenſe, the *light* of the world in that very *appearance*, and

[n] John i. 4, 9. [o] Ch. viii. 12. [p] Rom. v. 6. [q] 2 Cor. v. 15. [r] 1 Tim. ii. 4. [s] Tit. ii. 11, 12.

ſhined

ſhined forth by his heavenly *doctrine*, many admirable *miracles*, and his ſelf-denying *life* and *death*: but ſtill that hinders not, but that he was, and is, that *ſpiritual light*, which ſhineth, more or leſs, in the hearts of the ſons and daughters of men. For as he was a *light* in his *life* and *converſation*, he was only a light in a more excellent ſenſe than he ſpoke of to his diſciples, when he ſaid, "Ye are the lights of the world." But Chriſt, the *word*, enlightened *them*, and enlightens *us*, and enlightens *all* men that come into the world; which he could not be ſaid to do, if we only regard his *perſonal* and *outward* appearance: for in that ſenſe, it is long ſince he *was* that light, but in this he is *continually* ſo. In that reſpect he is *remote*, but in this ſenſe he is *preſent* and *immediate*; elſe we ſhould render the text, 'That 'was the true light which *did* lighten,' inſtead of "which *lighteth*, every man that cometh into the "world." And that the evangeliſt might be ſo underſtood, as we ſpeak, he refers us to this, as an evidence of *his* being the Meſſiah, and not *John*; for whom many people had much reverence, for verſe 8. he ſaith of John, "*He* was *not* that light, but was ſent to *bear* "*witneſs* of that light;" (now comes his proof, and our teſtimony) "that was the *true* light which lighteth "*every* man that cometh into the world;" which was not *John*, or any elſe, but "the *word* that was *with* "God, and *was* God." The evangeliſt did not deſcribe him by his faſting forty days, preaching ſo many ſermons, working ſo many miracles, and living ſo holy a life; and, after all, ſo patiently ſuffering death, (which yet Chriſt did) thereby to prove him the light of the world; but, ſays the evangeliſt, "That was the "true light," the word in fleſh, the Meſſiah, and not *John*, or any elſe, "which lighteth *every* man that "cometh into the world." So that Chriſt is manifeſted and diſtinguiſhed by *giving* light: and, indeed, ſo are all his followers from other people, by *receiving* and *obeying* it. There are many other ſcriptures, of both Teſtaments, that refer to the light within, either expreſly, or implicitly, which, for brevity's ſake, I ſhall

wave

wave reciting; but the reader will find ſome directions in the margin, which will guide him to them.[t]

CHAP. IV.

§. 1. The *virtue* of the *light within*: it gives *diſcerning*. §. 2. It *manifeſts God*. §. 3. It gives *life* to the *ſoul*. §. 4. It is the *apoſtolical meſſage*. §. 5. Objection anſwered about *two* lights. §. 6. About *natural* and *ſpiritual* light: not *two* darkneſſes within, therefore not *two* lights within. §. 7. The apoſtle *John anſwers the objection fully*: the *light* the *ſame*, 1 *John* ii. 8, 9.

§. 1. THE third thing, is the *virtue* and *efficacy* of this light for the end for which God hath given it, viz. 'To lead and guide the ſoul of man to 'bleſſedneſs.' In order to which, the firſt thing it does in and for man, is to give him a true ſight or diſcerning of himſelf; what he is, and what he does; that he may ſee and know his own condition, and what judgment to make of himſelf, with reſpect to religion and a future ſtate: of which, let us hear what the *word himſelf* ſaith, that cannot err, as John relates it, chap. iii. 20, 21. "For every one that doth evil, hateth "the light, neither cometh to the light, leſt his deeds "ſhould be reproved. But he that doth truth, cometh "to the light, that his deeds may be made manifeſt, "that they are wrought in God." A moſt pregnant inſtance of the virtue and authority of the light. Firſt, It is that which men ought to *examine* themſelves by. Secondly, It gives a *true diſcerning* betwixt good and bad, what is of *God*, from what is *not* of God. And, laſtly, It is a *judge*, and condemneth or acquitteth,

[t] Job xviii. 5, 6. and xxi. 17. and xxv. 3. and xxxviii. 5. Pſal. xviii. 28. and xxvii. 1. and xxxiv. 5. and xxxvi. 9. and cxviii. 27. and cxix. 105. Prov. xiii. 9. and xx. 20, 27. and xxiv. 20. Iſa. ii. 5. and viii. 20. and xlii. 6. and xlix. 6. 1 Pet. ii. 9. 1 John ii. 8.

reproveth

reproveth or comforteth, the ſoul of man, as he rejects or obeys it. That muſt needs be *divine* and *efficacious*, which is able to diſcover to man what is of God, from what is *not* of God; and which gives him a *diſtinct knowledge*, in himſelf, of what is wrought in God, from what is *not* wrought in God. By which it appears, that this place does not only regard the diſcovery of *man* and his *works*, but, in ſome meaſure, it manifeſteth *God*, and his *works* alſo, which is yet ſomething higher; foraſmuch as it gives the obedient man a diſcovery of what is wrought or performed by *God*'s power, and after *his* will, from what is the *mere* workings of the creature *of himſelf*. If it could not *manifeſt* God, it could not tell man what was God's *mind*, nor give him ſuch a grounded ſenſe and diſcerning of the riſe, nature, and tendency of the workings of his mind or inward man, as is both expreſſed and abundantly implied in this paſſage of our Saviour. And if it reveals God, to be ſure it manifeſts Chriſt, that flows and comes from God. Who then would oppoſe or ſlight this bleſſed light?

§. 2. But that this light doth *manifeſt* God, is yet evident from Rom. i. 19. "Becauſe that which may be "*known* of (God) is *manifeſt* in men, for God hath "*ſhewed* it unto them." An univerſal propoſition; and we have the apoſtle's word for it, who was "One "of a thouſand," and inſpired *on purpoſe* to tell us the truth: let it then have its due weight with us. If that which may be known of God is manifeſt in men, the people called Quakers cannot, certainly, be out of the way in preaching up the *light within*, without which, nothing *can be* manifeſted to the mind of man; as ſaith the ſame apoſtle to the Epheſians, Eph. v. 13. "Whatſoever doth make *manifeſt* is *light*." Well then may they call this light within a *manifeſtation* or *appearance* of *God*, that ſheweth *in* and *to* man, *all* that may be *known* of God. A paſſage much like unto this, is that of the prophet Micah, chap. vi. 8. "God hath "*ſhewed* thee, O man, what is *good*; and what doth "the Lord require of thee, but to do juſtly, and to

"love

" love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" God hath *ſhewed thee*, O *man!* It is very emphatical. But how hath he *ſhewed* him? Why, by his *light* in the *conſcience*, which the wicked *rebel* againſt, Job xxiv. 13. " Who, for *that* cauſe, know not the ways, nor abide in " the paths thereof:" For " its ways are ways of plea- " ſantneſs, and all its paths are peace," to them that obey it.

§. 3. But the *light* giveth the light of *life*, which is *eternal life*, to them that receive and obey it. Thus, ſays the bleſſed Saviour of the world, John viii. 12. " I am the light of the world, he that followeth me " ſhall not abide in darkneſs, but ſhall have the light " of life." Now he is the light of the *world*, becauſe he lighteth every man that cometh *into* the world, and they that obey that *light* obey *him*, and therefore have the light of life. That is, the light becomes eternal *life* to the ſoul: that as it is the *life* of the *word*, which is the *light* in man, ſo it becomes the *life* in man, through his obedience to it, as his heavenly *light*.

§. 4. Farthermore, this light was the very ground of the *apoſtolical meſſage*, as the beloved diſciple aſſures us, 1 John i. 5, 6, 7. " This then is the *meſſage*, which we " have heard of *him*, and declare unto *you*, That God " is *light*, and in him is no darkneſs at all: if we ſay " we have fellowſhip with *him*, and walk in darkneſs, " we lie, and do not the truth: but if we *walk* in the " light, as *he* is in the light, we have fellowſhip one " with another, and the blood of Jeſus Chriſt cleanſ- " eth us from all ſin." Which is ſo comprehenſive of the virtue and excellency of the light, in reference to man, that there is little need that more ſhould be ſaid upon it; foraſmuch as, Firſt, It reveals *God*, and that God *himſelf* is *light*. Secondly, It diſcovers darkneſs from light, and that there is no fellowſhip between them. Thirdly, That man ought to *walk* in the light. Fourthly, That it is the way to obtain forgiveneſs of ſin, and ſanctification from it. Fifthly, That it is the means to have peace and fellowſhip with God and his

people; his true church, redeemed from the pollutions of the world.

§. 5. Some, perhaps, may object, as indeed it hath been more than once objected upon us, 'That this is 'another light, not that light wherewith *every man* is 'enlightened.' But the ſame apoſtle, in his evangelical hiſtory, tells us, that "in the word was life, and "the *life* was the light of *men*," and that that *very* light, that was the *life* of the word, was the *true light* which lighteth *every man* that cometh into the world, John i. 4, 9. Where is there ſo plain a text to be found *againſt* the ſufficiency, as well as univerſality, of the light within; or a plainer for any article of faith in the whole book of God? Had the beloved diſciple intended *two* lights, in his evangelical hiſtory, and his epiſtles, to be ſure he would have noted to us his diſtinction: but we read of none, and by the properties aſcribed in each writing, we have reaſon to conclude he meant the *ſame*.

§. 6. But if any ſhall yet object, 'That this is to be 'underſtood a *ſpiritual* light, and that ours is to be a 'natural one,' I ſhall deſire them to do two things: Firſt, To prove that a *natural* light, as they phraſe it, doth manifeſt *God*, other than as I have before explained and allowed: ſince whatever is *part* of man, in his *conſtitution*, but eſpecially in his degeneracy from God, is ſo far from yielding him the *knowledge* of God, that it cannot *rightly* reprove or diſcover that which *offends* him, without the light we ſpeak of: and it is granted, that what we call *divine*, and ſome, miſtakenly, call *natural* light, can do *both*. Secondly, If this light be *natural*, notwithſtanding it doth manifeſt our duty, and reprove our diſobedience to God, they would do well to aſſign us ſome certain *medium*, or *way*, whereby we may truly diſcern and diſtinguiſh between the manifeſtations and reproofs of the *natural* light within, from thoſe of the *divine* light within, ſince they allow the manifeſtation of *God*, and reproof of *evil*, as well to the *one*, as to the *other*. Let them give us but one

ſcripture

ſcripture that diſtinguiſhes between a *natural* and a *ſpiritual* light within. They may, with as much reaſon, talk of a *natural* and a *ſpiritual darkneſs* within. It is true, there is a natural *proper* darkneſs, to wit, The night of the outward world; and there is a *ſpiritual* darkneſs, viz. The *clouded* and *benighted* underſtandings of men, through diſobedience to the light and ſpirit of God: but let them aſſign us a third, if they can. People uſe, indeed, to ſay, improperly, of blind men, they are *dark*; we may call a *natural* or *ideot* ſo, if we will: but where is there *another* darkneſs of the *underſtanding*, in the things of God? If they can, I ſay, find that, in and about the things of God, they do ſomething.

Chriſt diſtinguiſhed not between darkneſs and darkneſs, or light and light, in any ſuch ſenſe; nor did any of his diſciples: yet both have frequently ſpoken of darkneſs and light. What difference, pray, doth the ſcripture put between *ſpiritual* darkneſs, and *darkneſs*, mentioned in theſe places, Luke i. 7, 9. Mat. iv. 16. John i. 5. & iii. 19. & viii. 12, 31, 46. 1 Theſ. v. 4. 1 John i. 6. Acts xxvi. 18. Rom. xiii. 12. 2 Cor. vi. 14, 22. Eph. v. 8. Col. i. 13. Upon the ſtricteſt compariſon of them I find none. It is all one *ſpiritual* darkneſs. Neither is there ſo much as one ſcripture that affords us a diſtinction between *light within* and *light within*; or that there are really *two lights* from God, in *man*, that regard *religion*. Peruſe Mat. iv. 16. Luke ii. 32. & xv. 8. John i. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9. & iii. 19, 20, 21. & viii. 12. Acts xxvi. 18. Rom. xiii. 12. 2 Cor. iv. 6. & vi. 14. Eph. v. 8, 13. Col. i. 12. 1 Theſſ. v. 5. 1 Tim. vi. 16. 1 Pet. ii. 9. 1 John i. 5, 7. & ii. 8. Rev. xxi. 23, 24. & xxii. 5. And we believe the greateſt oppoſer to our aſſertion will not be able to ſever light from light, or find out *two lights within*, in the paſſages here mentioned, or any other, to direct man in his duty to God and his neighbour: and if he cannot, pray let him forbear his mean thoughts and words of the *light of Chriſt* within *man*, as man's *guide* in duty to God and

man. For as he muſt yield to us, that the light manifeſteth *evil*, and *reproveth* for it, ſo doth Chriſt himſelf teach us of the light, John iii. 20. "For every "one that doth evil hateth the light, neither cometh "unto the light, leſt his deeds ſhould be reproved." And the apoſtle Paul plainly ſaith, Eph. v. 13. "But "all things that are reproved are made manifeſt by the "*light*;" therefore there are not *two* diſtinct lights within, but *one* and the *ſame* manifeſting, reproving, and teaching *light within*. And this the apoſtle John, in his Firſt Epiſtle, makes plain, beyond all exception, to all conſiderate people: Firſt, In that he calls God, *Light*, chap. i. 5. Secondly, In that he puts no *medium*, or *third* thing, between that *light*, and *darkneſs*, verſe 6. "If we ſay we have fellowſhip with him, and walk in "darkneſs, we lie," &c. Intimating, that men muſt walk either in *light* or *darkneſs*, and not in a *third* or *other* ſtate or region. I am ſure, that which *manifeſts* and *reproves* darkneſs, cannot be *darkneſs*. This all men muſt confeſs.

§. 7. And, as if the apoſtle John would have anticipated their objection, viz. 'It is true, your light within 'reproves for evil; but it is not therefore the divine 'light, which leads into higher things, and which 'comes by the goſpel;' he thus expreſſeth himſelf, 1 John ii. 8, 9. "The darkneſs is paſt, and the true "light now ſhineth. He that ſaith he is in the light, "and hateth his brother, is in darkneſs even until "now;" which is not *another* light than that mentioned before, chap. i. For as light is put *there* in oppoſition to darkneſs, ſo light *here* is put in oppoſition to darkneſs. And as the *darkneſs* is the *ſame*, ſo muſt the *light* be the *ſame*. Wherefore we may plainly ſee, that it is *not another light*, than that which reproves a man for *hating his brother*, which brings a man *into fellowſhip with God*, and to *the blood of cleanſing*, as the next verſe ſpeaks: therefore that *light* which reproveth a man for hating his brother, is of a *divine* and *efficacious nature*. In ſhort, that light which is oppoſite to,

and reproves, ſpiritual darkneſs, in a man and woman, is a *ſpiritual light*; but ſuch a light is that which we confeſs, teſtify to, and maintain: therefore it is a *ſpiritual* light. It is alſo worth our notice, that the apoſtle uſeth the ſame manner of expreſſion here, chap. ii. 8. "The *true light* ſhineth," that he doth in his Evangelical Hiſtory, chap. i. 9. "That was the *true* "*light*;" intimating the ſame divine word, or *true* light *now* "ſhineth;" and that it is the ſame *true light* in his account, that *reproveth* ſuch as *hate their brethren*: conſequently, that light, that ſo reproveth them, is the *true light*. And ſtrange it is, that Chriſt and his diſciples, but eſpecially his beloved one, ſhould ſo often make that very light, which *ſtoops* to the *loweſt* ſtep of immorality, and to the reproof of the *groſſeſt* evil, to be no other than the *ſame divine* life, in a farther degree of manifeſtation, which brings ſuch as follow it to the *light of life*, to the *blood* of *cleanſing*, and to have *fellowſhip with God, and one with another*: nay, not only ſo, but the apoſtle makes a man's being a *child of God*, to depend upon his *anſwering* of this light in a palpable and common caſe, viz. "Not hating of his brother:" and that yet any ſhould ſhut their eyes ſo faſt againſt beholding the virtue of it, as to conclude it a *natural* and *inſufficient* light, is both *unſcriptural* and *unreaſonable*. Shall we ſlight it, becauſe we come ſo *eaſily* by it, and it is ſo familiar and domeſtick to us? Or make its being ſo *common*, an argument to undervalue ſo ineſtimable a mercy? What is more common than *light*, and *air*, and *water*? And ſhould we therefore contemn them, or prize them? *Prize* them, certainly, as what we cannot live, nor live *comfortably*, without. The more general the mercy is, the greater; and therefore the greater obligation upon man to live humbly and thankfully for it. And to thoſe alone that do ſo, are its divine ſecrets revealed.

CHAP. V.

§. 1. The *light* the *ſame* with the *ſpirit*. It is of *God*; proved by its properties. §. 2. The properties of the *ſpirit* compared with thoſe of the *light*. §. 3. The light and grace *flow* from the *ſame* principle, proved by their *agreeing* properties. §. 4. An objection anſwered. §. 5. Difference in *manifeſtation*, or *operation*, eſpecially in *goſpel-times*, but not in *principle*, illuſtrated.

Obj. BUT ſome may ſay, 'We could willingly allow 'to the *ſpirit* and *grace* of God, which 'ſeemed to be the peculiar bleſſing of the new and 'ſecond covenant, and the fruit of the coming of 'Chriſt, all that which you aſcribe to the *light within*; 'but except it appeared to us that this *light* were the 'ſame in *nature* with the *ſpirit* and *grace of God*, we 'cannot eaſily bring ourſelves to believe what you ſay 'in favour of the light within.'

Anſw. This objection, at firſt look, ſeems to carry weight with it. But upon a juſt and ſerious review, it will appear to have more words than matter, ſhew than ſubſtance: yet becauſe it gives occaſion to ſolve ſcruples, that may be flung in the way of the ſimple, I ſhall attend it throughout. I ſay, then, if it appear that the *properties*, aſcribed to the *light within*, are the ſame with thoſe that are given to the *Holy Spirit* and *Grace of God*; and that thoſe ſeveral terms, or epithets, are only to expreſs the divers manifeſtations or operations of one and the ſame principle, then it will not, it cannot, be denied, but this light within is *divine* and *efficacious*, as we have aſſerted it. Now, that it is of the ſame *nature* with the ſpirit and grace of God, and tends to the ſame end, which is to bring people to God, let the *properties* of the *light* be compared with thoſe of the *ſpirit* and *grace of God*. I ſay, they are the ſame, in that, firſt, the light proceeds from the *one word*, and *one life* of that *one word*, which was

was *with* God and *was* God, John i. 4. & i. 9. Secondly, It is *univerſal*, it lighteth *every* man. Thirdly, *It giveth* the *knowledge* of *God*, and *fellowſhip with him*. Rom. i. 19. John iii. 21. 1 John i. 5, 6. Fourthly, *It manifeſteth* and *reproveth evil*, John iii. 20. Eph. v. 13. Fifthly, *It* is made the *rule* and *guide* of *Chriſtian walking*, Pſalm xliii. 3. John viii. 12. Eph. v. 13, 15. Sixthly, It is the *path* for God's people to *go in*, Pſalm cxix. 105. Prov. iv. 18. Iſaiah ii. 5. 1 John i. 7. Rev. xxiv. 23. "And the nations of them that are ſaved, ſhall walk "in the *light* (of the Lamb.)" Laſtly, It is the *armour* of the children of God againſt *ſatan*, Pſalm xxvii. 1. "The Lord is my *light*, whom ſhall I fear?" Rom. xiii. 12. "Let us put on the armour of *light*."

§. 2. Now let all this be compared with the *properties* of the *Holy Spirit*, and their agreement will be very manifeſt. Firſt, It *proceedeth* from God, becauſe it is the *ſpirit* of God, Rom. vi. 11. Secondly, It is *univerſal*. It *ſtrove* with the old world, Gen. vi. 3. Then to be ſure, with the new one: *every one* hath a *meaſure* of it given to *profit withal*, 1 Cor. xii. 7. Thirdly, It *revealeth God*, Job xxxii. 8. 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11. Fourthly, It *reproveth ſin*, John xvi. 8. Fifthly, It is a *rule* and *guide* for the children of God to *walk* by, Rom. viii. 14. Sixthly, It is alſo the *path* they are to *walk in*, Rom. viii. 1. Gal. v. 15. "*Walk* in the "*ſpirit*." Laſtly, This is not all; it is likewiſe the *ſpiritual weapon* of a true Chriſtian, Eph. vi. 17. "Take "the ſword of the ſpirit, which is the word of God." After this, I hope none will deny that this *light* and this *ſpirit* muſt be of one and the ſame *nature*, that work one and the ſame *effect*, and tend evidently to one and the ſame holy *end*.

§. 3. And what is ſaid of the *light* and *ſpirit*, may alſo very well be ſaid of the *light* and *grace* of God; in that, Firſt, The *grace* floweth from Chriſt, the word, that took fleſh, as well as the *light*; for as in him was life, and that life the *light* of men, ſo he was "full of *grace* "and truth, and of his fulneſs have all we received, "and grace for grace," John i. 4, 9, 14, 16. Secondly,

It is *univerſal*; both from this text, and what the apoſtle to Titus teacheth; "For the *grace* of God, that "bringeth ſalvation, hath appeared to *all* men." Tit. ii. 11, 12. Thirdly, It *manifeſteth evil*, for if it teaches to *deny* ungodlineſs and worldly luſts, it muſt needs *detect* them, and ſo ſays the text. Fourthly, It *revealeth godlineſs*, and conſequently it muſt manifeſt *God*. Fifthly, It is an *inſtructor* and *guide*; for, ſays the apoſtle, "It teaches to deny ungodlineſs and worldly luſts, "and to live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly, in this "preſent world," and herein a *rule* of life, Tit. ii. 11, 12. Sixthly, It is, to all that *receive* it, all that they can *need* or *deſire*, 2 Cor. xii. 9. "My grace is *ſufficient* "for thee." An high teſtimony from *heaven*, to the power of this *teaching* and *ſaving grace*, under the ſtrongeſt temptations.

§. 4. Obj. 'But there is little mention made of the 'ſpirit, and none of the *grace*, before Chriſt's coming; 'and therefore the *ſpirit*, as ſpoken of in the writings 'of the New Teſtament, and eſpecially the *grace*, 'muſt be another, and a nobler thing than the light 'within.'

Anſw. By no means another *thing*, but another *name*, from another *manifeſtation*, or *operation*, of the ſame *principle*. It is called *light* from the *diſtinction* and *diſcerning* it gives. "Let there be light, and there was "light," ſaid God in the beginning of the old world; ſo there is firſt *light* in the beginning of the new creation of God in man. It is called *ſpirit*, becauſe it giveth *life*, *ſenſe*, *motion*, and *vigour*: and it is as often mentioned in the writings of the Old as New Teſtament; which every reader may ſee, if he will but pleaſe to look into his ſcripture-concordance. Thus, "God's Spirit ſtrove with the old world." Gen. vi. 3. and with "Iſrael in the wilderneſs," Neh. ix. 30. And David aſked, in the agony of his ſoul, "Whither "ſhall I go from thy Spirit?" Pſalm cxxxix. 7. and the prophets often felt it. It is ſtiled *grace*, not from its being another principle, but becauſe it was a *fuller* diſpen-

diſpenſation of the virtue and power of the ſame divine principle: and that being purely God's favour and mercy, and not man's merit, is aptly, and deſervedly, called the *grace*, *favour*, or *good-will* of God, to *undeſerving* man. The wind does not always blow *freſh*, nor heaven ſend down its rain *freely*, nor the ſun ſhine forth *clearly*; ſhall we therefore ſay, it is not of the ſame *kind* of wind, rain, or light, when it blows, rains, or ſhines but a *little*, as when it blows, rains, or ſhines *much*? It is certainly the *ſame* in nature and kind; and ſo is this *bleſſed principle*, under all its ſeveral diſpenſations, manifeſtations, and operations, for the benefit of man's ſoul, ever ſince the world began.

§. 5. But this is moſt freely, humbly, and thankfully acknowledged by us, That the diſpenſation of the *goſpel*, was the cleareſt, fulleſt, and nobleſt of all other; both with regard to the coming of Chriſt in the fleſh, and being our one holy offering to God for ſin, through the Eternal Spirit; and the breaking-forth of his light, the effuſion of his ſpirit, and appearance of his grace, in and to man, in a more excellent manner after his aſcenſion. For though it was not *another* light, or ſpirit, than that which he had given to man in former ages, yet it was another and greater *meaſure*; and that is the privilege of the goſpel above former diſpenſations. What before ſhined but *dimly*, ſhines ſince with *great glory*. Then it appeared but *darkly*, but now with *open face*.[t] Types, figures, and ſhadows *veiled* its appearances, and made them look *low* and *faint*; but in the *goſpel-time*, the *veil* is *rent*, and the *hidden* glory *manifeſt*[u]. It was under the law but as a *dew*, or ſmall rain; but under the goſpel, it may be ſaid to be *poured out* upon men: according to that gracious and notable promiſe of God, by the prophet Joel, "In the "latter days I will *pour out* of my Spirit upon *all* "*fleſh*."[w] Thus we ſay, when it rains plentifully, look how it *pours*. So God augments his light, grace, and

[t] 2 Cor. iii. 18. [u] John i. 5, 17. [w] Joel ii. 28.

ſpirit

ſpirit to theſe latter days. They ſhall not have it ſparingly, and by ſmall drops, but *fully* and *freely*, and *overflowing* too. And thus Peter, that deep and excellent apoſtle, applies that promiſe in Joel, on the *day of Pentecoſt*, as the *beginning* of the accompliſhment of it. This is grace, and favour, and goodneſs indeed. And therefore well may this brighter illumination, and greater effuſion of the ſpirit, be called *grace*; for as the coming of the *Son* excelled that of the *ſervant*, ſo did the manifeſtation of the light and ſpirit of God, ſince the coming of Chriſt, excel that of the foregoing diſpenſations; yet ever ſufficient to ſalvation, to all thoſe that walked in it. This is *our ſenſe* of the *light*, *ſpirit*, and *grace* of God: and by what is ſaid, it is evident they are *one and the ſame principle*; and that he that has light, need not want the ſpirit or grace of God, if he will but receive it, in the love of it; for the very PRINCIPLE, that is LIGHT to *ſhow* him, is alſo SPIRIT to *quicken* him, and GRACE to *teach*, *help*, and *comfort* him. It is ſufficient in all circumſtances of life, to them that diligently mind and obey it.

CHAP. VI.

§. 1. An objection anſwered: *all* are not *good*, though *all* are *lighted*. §. 2. Another objection anſwered, That *goſpel-truths* were known before *Chriſt's coming*. §. 3. Another: The *Gentiles* had the ſame *light*, though not with thoſe *advantages:* proved from *ſcripture*.

§. 1. Obj. BUT ſome may yet ſay, 'If it be as you declare, 'how comes it, that all who are enlightened, 'are not ſo good as they ſhould be; or, as you ſay, this 'would make them?'

Anſw. Becauſe people do not receive and obey it: all men have *reaſon*, but all men are not *reaſonable*. Is it

it the fault of the *grain*, in the GRANARY, that it yields no *increaſe*, or of the *talent* in the NAPKIN, that it is not *improved?* It is plain a *talent* was given; and as plain that it was *improveable*; both becauſe the like talents were actually improved by others, and, 'that 'the juſt judge expected his talent with *advantage*;' which elſe, to be ſure, he would never have done. Now when our objectors will tell us, whoſe fault it was the talent was not *improved*, we ſhall be ready to tell them, 'why the unprofitable ſervant was not ſo good 'as he *ſhould* have been.' The blind muſt not blame the *ſun*, nor ſinners tax the grace of *inſufficiency*. It is *ſin* that darkens the *eye*, and hardens the *heart*, and that *hinders* good things from the ſons of men. "If "we do his *will*, we ſhall know of his divine doctrine," ſo Chriſt tells us. Men not living to what they know, cannot blame God, that they know no more. The unfruitfulneſs is in *us*, not in the *talent*. It were well, indeed, that this were laid to heart. But, alas! men are too apt to follow their ſenſual appetites, rather than their reaſonable mind, which renders them brutal, inſtead of rational. For the *reaſonable part* in man, is his *ſpiritual part*; and *that* guided by the divine Λόγος or *word*, which Tertullian interprets REASON *in the moſt excellent ſenſe*, makes *man truly reaſonable*; and then it is that man comes to offer up himſelf to God a *reaſonable ſacrifice*. Then a *man indeed*; a *complete man*; ſuch a man as *GOD made*, when he made man in *his own image*, and gave him paradiſe for his habitation.

§. 2. Obj. But ſome yet object, 'If mankind had 'always this principle, how comes it that goſpel-truths 'were not ſo fully known before the coming of Chriſt, 'to thoſe that were obedient to it?'

Anſw. Becauſe a *child* is not a *grown man*, nor the *beginning* the *end*; and yet he that is the *beginning*, is alſo the *end*; the PRINCIPLE is the ſame, though not the *manifeſtation*. As the world has many ſteps and periods of time towards its end, ſo hath man to his perfection.

They

They that are faithful to what they know of the diſpenſation of their *own* day, ſhall hear the happy welcome, of "Well done, good and faithful ſervant." And yet many of God's people in thoſe days, had a proſpect of the glory of the latter times, the improvement of religion, the happineſs of the church of God.

This we ſee in the prophecy of *Jacob* and *Moſes*, concerning the "reſtoration of Iſrael by Chriſt." So *David*, in many of his excellent Pſalms, expreſſing moſt ſenſible and extraordinary enjoyments, as well as prophecies; particularly his ii. xv. xviii. xxii. xxiii. xxv. xxvii. xxxii. xxxvi. xxxvii. xlii. xliii. xlv. li. lxxxiv. &c. The prophets are full of it, and for that reaſon have their name; particularly *Iſaiah*, chap. ii. ix. xi. xxv. xxviii. xxxii. xxxv. xlii. xlix. l. li. lii. liii. liv. lix. lx. lxi. lxii. lxv. lxvi. *Jeremiah* alſo, chap. xxiii. xxx. xxxi. xxxiii. *Ezekiel*, chap. xx. xxxiv. xxxvi. xxxvii. *Daniel*, chap. viii. ix. x. xi. xii. *Hoſea*, chap. i. iii. *Joel*, chap. ii. iii. *Amos*, chap. ix. *Micah*, chap. iv. v. *Zachariah*, chap. vi. viii. ix. xi. xiii. xiv. *Malachi*, chap. iii. iv. This was not *another principle*, though another *manifeſtation* of the *ſame principle*; nor was it *common*, but particular and extraordinary in the *reaſon* of it.

It was the *ſame* Spirit that came upon *Moſes*, which came upon *John the Baptiſt*; and it was alſo the *ſame* Spirit that came upon *Gideon* and *Sampſon*, that fell upon *Peter* and *Paul*; but it was not the ſame *diſpenſation* of that Spirit. It hath been the way of God, to viſit and appear to men according to their *ſtates* and *conditions*, and as they have been *prepared* to *receive* him, be it more outwardly or inwardly, ſenſibly or ſpiritually. There is no capacity too low, or too high, for this divine principle: for as it *made* and *knows* all, ſo it reaches unto *all people*. It extends to the meaneſt, and the higheſt cannot ſubſiſt without it. Which made David break forth in his expoſtulations with God,

* Gen. xlix. 10. Deut. xviii. 15, 18.

"Whi-

" Whither ſhall I go from thy Spirit, or whither ſhall " I flee from thy preſence?" Pſalm cxxxix. 7, 8, 9, 10. Implying it was every where; though not every where, nor at every time, *alike*. " If I go to heaven, to hell, " or beyond the ſeas, even there ſhall thy hand lead " me, and thy right hand ſhall hold me." That is, ' There will this divine word, this light of men, this ' Spirit of God, find me, lead me, help me, and com- ' fort me. For it is with me where-ever I am, and ' where-ever I go, in one reſpect or other;' Prov. vi. 22. " When thou goeſt, it ſhall lead thee; when thou " ſleepeſt, it ſhall keep thee; and when thou awakeſt, " it ſhall talk with thee:" and I can no more get rid of it, if I would, than of *myſelf*, or my own *nature*; ſo preſent is it with me, and ſo cloſe it ſticks unto me. Iſa. xliii. 2. " When thou paſſeſt through the waters, " I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they " ſhall not overflow thee; when thou walkeſt through " the fire, thou ſhalt not be burnt, neither ſhall the " flame kindle upon thee." David knew it, and there- fore had a great value for it. " In thy light ſhall we " *ſee* light," or, we ſhall be *enlightened* by *thy* light." " Thou wilt light my candle; the Lord my God will " lighten my darkneſs." Again, " The Lord is my " light, whom ſhall I fear?" It was his armour againſt all danger. It took fear away from him, and he was undaunted, becauſe he was ſafe in the way of it. Of the ſame bleſſed word he ſays elſewhere, " It is a lamp " unto my feet, and a lanthorn to my paths." In ſhort, a light to him in his way of bleſſedneſs.

§. 3. Obj. ' But if the *Jews* had this light, it does ' not follow that the *Gentiles* had it alſo; but by your ' doctrine *all* have it.'

Anſw. Yes, and it is the glory of this doctrine which we profeſs, that God's love is therein held forth to *all*. And beſides the texts cited in general, and that are as full and poſitive as can be expreſſed, the apoſtle is very particular in the ſecond chapter of his epiſtle to the Romans,

Romans, "That the Gentiles having not the law, did "by nature the things contained in the law, and were "a law unto themſelves." That is, they had not an outward law, circumſtanced as the *Jews* had; but they had "the *work* of the law written in their *hearts*,"[1] and therefore might well be a law *to* themſelves, that had the law *in* themſelves. And ſo had the *Jews* too, but then they had greater outward helps to quicken their obedience to it; ſuch as God afforded not unto any other nation: and therefore the obedience of the *Gentiles*, or uncircumciſion, is ſaid to be by nature, or naturally, becauſe it was without thoſe additional, external, and extraordinary miniſtries and helps which the *Jews* had to provoke them to duty. Which is ſo far from *leſſening* the obedient Gentiles, that it *exalts* them in the apoſtle's judgment; becauſe though they had leſs advantages than the *ews*, yet the "work of "the law written in their hearts," was made ſo much the more evident by the good life they lived in the world. He adds, "their conſciences bearing witneſs "(or as it may be rendered, *witneſſing with them*) and "their thoughts, mean while, accuſing, or elſe ex-"cuſing one another, in the day when God ſhall judge "the ſecrets of all hearts by Jeſus Chriſt, according "to my goſpel." Which preſents us with four things to our point, and worth our ſerious reflection. Firſt, That the *Gentiles* had the law written in their *hearts*. Secondly, That their conſcience was an allowed witneſs or evidence about duty. Thirdly, That the judgment made thereby ſhall be confirmed by the apoſtle's goſpel at the great day, and therefore valid and irreverſible. Fourthly, That this could not be, if the *light* of this conſcience were not a *divine* and *ſufficient* light: for *conſcience*, truly ſpeaking, is no other than 'the *ſenſe* a man hath, or *judgment* he maketh, of his '*duty* to God, according to the *underſtanding* God gives 'him of *his will*.' And that no ill, but a true and

[1] Rom. ii. 7 to 17.

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ſcriptural uſe, may be made of this word *conſcience*, I limit it to duty, and that to a virtuous and holy life, as the apoſtle evidently doth, about which we cannot miſs, or diſpute: read verſes 7, 8, 9. It was to *that*, therefore, the apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt deſired to be made *manifeſt*, for they dared to ſtand the judgment of *conſcience*, in reference to the doctrine they preached and preſſed upon men. The beloved diſciple alſo makes it a *judge* of man's preſent and future ſtate, under the term *heart*: "For if our heart con-"demn us, God is greater than our heart, and know-"eth all things. Beloved, if our heart condemn us "not, then have we confidence towards God.[z]" Plain and ſtrong words: and what were they about, but whether we love God, in deed and in truth: and how muſt that appear? Why, in "keeping his command-"ments," which is living *up* to what we *know*. And if any deſire to ſatisfy themſelves farther of the divinity of the *Gentiles*, let them read Plato, Seneca, Plutarch, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and the Gentile writers. They will alſo find many of their ſayings, collected in the firſt part of a book, called, *The Chriſtian Quaker*, and compared with the teſtimonies of ſcripture, not for their authority, but agreeableneſs. In them they may diſcern many excellent truths, and taſte great love and devotion to virtue: a fruit that grows upon no tree, but that of *life*, in no age or nation. Some of the moſt eminent writers of the firſt ages, ſuch as Juſtin Martyr, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, &c. bore them great reſpect, and thought it no leſſening to the reputation of Chriſtianity, that it was defended in many *Gentile* authors, as well as that they uſed and urged them to engage their followers to the faith, as Paul did the Athenians with their own *poets*.

[z] 1 John iii. 21, 22.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

§. 1. An objection answered about the *various dispensations* of God: The *principle* the same. §. 2. God's work *of a piece*, and *truth* the same under *divers shapes*. §. 3. The reason of the prevalency of *idolatry*. §. 4. The *Quakers* testimony the best antidote against it, *viz. Walking by a divine principle in man*. §. 5. It was God's *end*, in all his manifestations, that man might be *God's image and delight*.

§. 1. BUT it may be said, 'If it were *one principle*, 'why so many *modes* and *shapes* of religion, 'since the world began? For the *Patriarchal*, *Mosaical*, 'and *Christian*, have their great differences; to say no-'thing of what has befallen the *Christian*, since the pub-'lication of it to the world.'

Answ. I know not how properly they may be called *divers* religions, that assert the *true God* for the object of worship; the Lord *Jesus Christ*, for the *only Saviour*; and the *light*, or *spirit* of Christ, for the *great agent*, and *means* of man's conversion, and eternal felicity; any more than infancy, youth, and manhood, make *three men*, instead of *three growths*, or *periods of time*, of *one* and the *same man*. But passing that, the many modes or ways of God's appearing to men, arise, as hath been said, from the divers *states* of men; in all which, it seems to have been his main design to prevent idolatry and vice, by directing their minds to the *true* object of worship, and pressing virtue and holiness. So that though he immediately spoke to the patriarchs mostly by *angels*, in the fashion of men, and by them to their families, over and above the illumination in themselves; so to the prophets, for the most part, by the revelation of the *Holy Ghost* in them, and by them to the *Jews*; and since the gospel dispensation, by his *Son*, both externally, by his coming in the *flesh*, and internally, by his *spiritual* appearance in the *soul*, as he is the

the *great light* of the world; yet all its flowings mediately through others, have ſtill been from the *ſame principle*, co-operating with the manifeſtation of it *immediately* in man's own particular.

§. 2. This is of great weight, for our information and encouragement, that God's work, in reference to man, is *all of a piece*, and, in itſelf, lies in a narrow compaſs, and that his eye has ever been upon the ſame thing in all his diſpenſations, viz. *To make men truly good*, by planting his holy awe and fear in their hearts: though he has condeſcended, for the hardneſs and darkneſs of mens hearts, to approach, and ſpell out his holy mind, to them, by low and carnal ways, as they may appear to our more enlightened underſtandings: ſuffering *truth* to put on divers ſorts of garments, the better to reach to the low ſtate of men, to engage them from *falſe gods*, and *ill lives*; ſeeing them ſunk ſo much below their nobler part, and what he made them, that, like brute beaſts, they knew not their own ſtrength and excellency.

§. 3. And if we do but well conſider the reaſon of the prevalency of *idolatry*, upon the earlier and darker times of the world, of which the ſcripture is very particular, we ſhall find that it ariſeth from this, that it is more ſenſual, and therefore calculated to pleaſe the *ſenſes* of men; being more *outward* or *viſible*, or more in their own power to perform, than one more *ſpiritual* in its object.[a] For as their gods were the workmanſhip of mens hands, they could not *prefer* them, that being the argument which did moſt of all gall their worſhippers, and what of all things, for that reaſon, they were moſt willing to forget. But their incidency to *idolatry*, and the advantages it had upon the true religion with them, plainly came from this, 'That it 'was more *outward* and *ſenſual*:' they could *ſee* the object of their devotion, and had it in their power to addreſs it when they would. It was more *faſhionable*

[a] Gen. xxxi. xxxv. Exod. xx. Levit. xxi. Deut. xxix. xxx. xxxi. xxxii. Joſh. xxii. xxiii. xxiv.

too, as well as better accommodated to their dark, and too brutal, ſtate. And therefore it was, that God, by many afflictions, and greater deliverances, brought forth a people, to *endear* himſelf to them, that they might *remember* the *hand* that *ſaved them*, and worſhip *him*, and him *only*, in order to root up *idolatry*, and plant the *knowledge* and *fear* of *him* in their *minds*, for an example to other nations. Whoever reads Deuteronomy, which is a ſummary of the other four books of Moſes, will find the frequent and earneſt care and concern of that good man for Iſrael, about this very point; and how often that people ſlipt and lapſed, notwithſtanding God's love, care, and patience over them, into the idolatrous cuſtoms of the nations about them. Divers other ſcriptures inform us alſo, eſpecially thoſe of the prophets, Iſaiah xliv. and xlv. Pſal. xxxvii. and cxv. and Jer. x. where the Holy Ghoſt confutes and rebukes the people, and mocks their *idols* with a ſort of holy diſdain.

§. 4. Now that which is *fartheſt* from idolatry, and the beſt *antidote* againſt it, is the *principle* we have laid down; and the more people's minds are turned and brought to it, and that they reſolve their faith, worſhip, and obedience into the holy illuminations and power of it, the *nearer* they grow to the *end* of their creation, and conſequently to their *Creator*. They are more ſpiritually qualified, and become better fitted, to worſhip God as he *is:* who, as we are told by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, is a *ſpirit*, and will be worſhipped in ſpirit and in truth, and that they are ſuch ſort of worſhippers which God ſeeketh to worſhip him, in this goſpel day. "The hour cometh," ſaith he, "and "now is." That is, 'Some *now* do ſo, but more *ſhall*." A plain aſſertion in preſent, and a promiſe and prophecy of the increaſe of *ſuch* worſhippers in future. Which ſhews a change intended from a *ceremonial* worſhip, and ſtate of the church of God, to a *ſpiritual* one. Thus the text; "But the time cometh, and now is, when "true worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father in ſpirit and "in truth." Which is as much as to ſay, 'When the

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'worſhip of God ſhall be more *inward* than outward,' and ſo more *ſuitable* to the nature of God, and the nobler part of man, his *inſide*, or his *inward* and *better* man: for ſo thoſe bleſſed words import, "in Spirit "and in truth." In *ſpirit*, that is, 'through the 'power of the ſpirit.' *In truth*, that is, 'in *realities*,' not in ſhadows, ceremonies, or formalities, but in ſincerity, with and in life, being divinely prepared and animated; which brings man not only to offer up *right* worſhip, but alſo into *intimate communion* and *fellowſhip* with *God*, who is a *Spirit*.

§. 5. And if it be duly weighed, it will appear, that God, in all his manifeſtations of himſelf, hath ſtill come *nearer* and *nearer* to the *inſides* of men, that he might reach to their *underſtandings*, and open their *hearts*, and give them a plainer and nearer acquaintance with himſelf in Spirit: and then it is that man muſt ſeek and find the knowledge of God for his eternal happineſs. Indeed, all things that are *made*, ſhew forth the power and wiſdom of God, and his goodneſs too, to mankind; and therefore many men urge the *creation* to ſilence *atheiſtical* objections: but though all thoſe things ſhew a God, yet *man* does it, above all the reſt. *He* is the *precious ſtone* of the *ring*, and the moſt *glorious jewel* of the *globe*; to whoſe reaſonable uſe, ſervice, and ſatisfaction, the whole ſeems to be made and dedicated. "But God's delight" (by whom man was made, we are told by the Holy Ghoſt) "is in the *habitable* parts "of the earth, with the *ſons* of *men*," Prov. viii. 31. And with thoſe that are "contrite in ſpirit," Iſaiah lxvi. 1. And why is man his delight, but becauſe man *only*, of all his works, was of his *likeneſs*. This is the *intimate relation* of man to God; ſomewhat *nearer* than ordinary: for of all other beings, man *only* had the honour of being his *image*; and, by his *reſemblance* to God, as I may ſay, came his *kindred* with God, and *knowledge* of him. So that the neareſt and beſt way for man to *know* God, and be acquainted with him, is to ſeek him in *himſelf*, in his *image*; and, as he finds *that*, he comes to find and know *God*.

Now MAN may be ſaid to be God's *image* in a *double* reſpect. Firſt, As he is of an *immortal* nature; and next, as that nature is *endued* with thoſe excellencies in *ſmall*, and proportionable to a creature's *capacity*, that are by nature *infinitely* and *incomparably* in his CREATOR. For inſtance, *wiſdom*, *juſtice*, *mercy*, *holineſs*, *patience*, and the like. As man becomes holy, juſt, merciful, patient, &c. by the *copy* he will know the *original*, and by the *workmanſhip* in himſelf, he will be acquainted with the holy *Workman*. This, reader, is the *regeneration* and *new creature* we preſs, Gal. vi. 15, 16; and according to *this* rule, we ſay, men ought to be *religious*, and *walk* in *this world*. Man, as I ſaid juſt now, is a compoſition of *both* worlds; his *body* is of *this*, his *ſoul of* the *other* world. The *body* is as the TEMPLE of the *ſoul*; the ſoul the *temple* of the WORD; and the *word* the great TEMPLE and *manifeſtation* of GOD. By the *body* the ſoul looks into and beholds *this* world; and by the *word* it beholds GOD, and the world that is without *end*. Much might be ſaid of this order of things, and their reſpective excellencies, but I muſt be brief.

CHAP. VIII.

§. 1. The doctrine of *ſatisfaction* and *juſtification* owned and worded according to *ſcripture*. §. 2. What conſtructions we *cannot* believe of them, and which is an *abuſe* of them. §. 3. Chriſt owned a *ſacrifice* and a *mediator*. §. 4. *Juſtification two-fold*, from the *guilt* of ſin, and from the *power* and *pollution* of it. §. 5. Exhortation to the reader upon the whole.

Obj. 1. 'THOUGH there be many good things 'ſaid, how Chriſt *appears* and *works* in 'a ſoul, to awaken, convince and convert it; yet you 'ſeem not particular enough about the *death* and *ſuffer-* 'ings of Chriſt: and it is generally rumoured and 'charged upon you by your adverſaries, that you have 'little reverence to the doctrine of Chriſt's ſatisfac-

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'tion to God for our ſins, and that you do not believe, 'That the active and paſſive obedience of Chriſt, when 'he was in the world, is the alone ground of a ſinner's 'juſtification before God.'

Anſw. The doctrines of *ſatisfaction* and *juſtification*, truly underſtood, are placed in ſo ſtrict an union, that the one is a neceſſary conſequence of the other; and what we ſay of them, is what agrees with the ſuffrage of ſcripture, and, for the moſt part, in the terms of it; always believing, that in points where there ariſes any difficulty, be it from the obſcurity of expreſſion, miſtranſlation, or the duſt raiſed by the heats of *partial* writers, or *nice criticks*, it is ever beſt to keep cloſe to the text, and maintain charity in the reſt. I ſhall firſt ſpeak *negatively*, what we do *not* own; which, perhaps, hath given occaſion to thoſe who have been more haſty than wiſe, to judge us defective in our belief of the efficacy of the death and ſufferings of Chriſt to juſtification: as,

§. 2. Firſt, We cannot believe that Chriſt is the *cauſe*, but the *effect*, of God's *love*, according to the teſtimony of the beloved diſciple, John, chap. iii. "God ſo loved "the world, that he gave his only begotten Son into "the world, that whoſoever believeth in him ſhould "not periſh, but have everlaſting life."

Secondly, We cannot ſay, God *could not* have taken *another* way to have ſaved ſinners, than by the death and ſufferings of his Son, to ſatisfy his juſtice; or that Chriſt's death and ſufferings were a *ſtrict* and *rigid* ſatisfaction for that eternal death and miſery due to man for ſin and tranſgreſſion: for ſuch a notion were to make God's *mercy* little concerned in man's ſalvation; and, indeed, we are at too great a *diſtance* from his infinite wiſdom and power, to judge of the *liberty* or *neceſſity* of his actings.

Thirdly, We cannot ſay Jeſus Chriſt was the *greateſt ſinner* in the world (becauſe he bore our ſins on his croſs, or becauſe he was made ſin for us, who knew no ſin); an expreſſion of great *levity* and *unſoundneſs*, yet

often ſaid by great preachers and profeſſors of religion.

Fourthly, We cannot believe that Chriſt's death and ſufferings *ſo* ſatisfy God, or juſtify men, as that they are *thereby* accepted of God: they are, indeed, thereby put into a *ſtate capable* of being accepted of God, and, through the obedience of faith, and ſanctification of the ſpirit, *are* in a ſtate of acceptance: for we can never think a man *juſtified* before God, while *ſelf-condemned*; or that any man can be *in Chriſt* who is not a *new* creature; or that God looks upon men *otherwiſe* than they *are*. We think it a ſtate of *preſumption*, and not of *ſalvation*, to call Jeſus *Lord*, and not by the work of the *Holy Ghoſt*: *Maſter*, and he not yet maſter of their *affections*: *Saviour*, and they not ſaved by him from their *ſins*: *Redeemer*, and yet they not redeemed by him from their *paſſion*, *pride*, *covetouſneſs*, *wantonneſs*, *vanity*, *vain honours*, *friendſhips*, and *glory* of this world: which were to deceive themſelves; for "God will not "be mocked, ſuch as men ſow, ſuch they muſt reap." And though Chriſt did *die* for us, yet we muſt, by the aſſiſtance of his *grace*, "work out our own ſalva-"tion with fear and trembling:" as *he* died *for* ſin, ſo *we* muſt die *to* ſin, or we cannot be ſaid to be *ſaved* by the death and ſufferings of Chriſt, or thoroughly *juſtified* and accepted with God. Thus far negatively. Now, poſitively, what we own as to juſtification.

§. 3. We do believe that Jeſus Chriſt was our holy *ſacrifice*, *atonement*, and *propitiation*; that he bore our iniquities, and by his ſtripes we were healed of the wounds *Adam* gave us in his fall; and that God is juſt in forgiving true penitents upon the credit of that holy offering Chriſt made of himſelf to God for us; and that what he did and ſuffered, ſatisfied and pleaſed God, and was for the ſake of fallen man, that had diſpleaſed God: and that through the offering up of himſelf once for all, through the Eternal Spirit, he hath for ever perfected thoſe (in all *times*) that were ſanctified, "who walked not after the fleſh, but after the "Spirit," Rom. viii. 1. Mark that,

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§. 4. In ſhort, juſtification conſiſts of *two* parts, or hath a *twofold* conſideration, viz. juſtification from the *guilt* of ſin, and juſtification from the *power* and *pollution* of ſin, and in this ſenſe juſtification gives a man a full and clear acceptance before God, for want of this *latter* part it is, that ſo many ſouls, religiouſly inclined, are often under doubts, ſcruples, and deſpondencies, notwithſtanding all that their teachers tell them of the extent and efficacy of the *firſt* part of juſtification. And it is too general an unhappineſs among the profeſſors of Chriſtianity, that they are too apt to *cloak* their own active and paſſive *diſobedience* with the active and paſſive *obedience* of *Chriſt*. The firſt part of juſtification, we do reverently and humbly acknowledge, is only for the ſake of the *death* and *ſufferings* of *Chriſt*: nothing *we* can do, *though by the operation* of *the Holy Spirit*, being able to cancel *old debts*, or wipe out *old ſcores*: it is the power and efficacy of that propitiatory offering, upon *faith* and *repentance*, that juſtifies us from the ſins that are *paſt*; and it is the power of Chriſt's Spirit in our hearts, that purifies and makes us acceptable before God. For till the heart of man is purged from *ſin*, God will never *accept* of it. He reproves, rebukes, and condemns thoſe that entertain ſin there, and therefore ſuch cannot be ſaid to be in a *juſtified* ſtate; condemnation and juſtification being contraries: ſo that they that hold themſelves in a juſtified ſtate by the active and paſſive obedience of Chriſt, while they are not actively and paſſively obedient to the *Spirit* of Chriſt Jeſus, are under a *ſtrong* and *dangerous* deluſion; and for crying out againſt this ſin-pleaſing imagination, not to ſay *doctrine*, we are ſtaged and reproached as deniers and deſpiſers of the death and ſufferings of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. But be it known to ſuch, they *add* to Chriſt's ſufferings, and crucify to themſelves *afreſh* the Son of God, and trample the blood of the covenant under their feet, that walk *unholily* under a profeſſion of *juſtification*; "for God will not acquit the "guilty, nor juſtify the diſobedient and unfaithful." Such deceive themſelves, and at the great and final

judgment their ſentence will not be, "Come ye *bleſſed*," becauſe it cannot be ſaid to them, "*Well done*, good "and faithful," for they cannot be ſo eſteemed that live and die in a *reprovable* and *condemnable* ſtate; but, "Go ye curſed," &c.

§. 5. Wherefore, O my reader! Reſt not thyſelf wholly ſatisfied with what Chriſt has done for thee in his bleſſed perſon *without* thee, but preſs to know his power and kingdom *within* thee, that the *ſtrong man*, that has too long kept thy houſe, may be *bound*, and his goods *ſpoiled*, his works *deſtroyed*, and ſin *ended*, according to 1 John iii. 7. "For which end," ſays that beloved diſciple, "Chriſt was manifeſted," that all things may become *new*: "new heavens and new earth, "in which righteouſneſs dwells." Thus thou wilt come to glorify God in thy body and in thy Spirit, which are *his*; and live to *him*, and not to *thyſelf*. Thy love, joy, worſhip, and obedience; thy life, converſation, and practice; thy ſtudy, meditation, and *devotion*, will be *ſpiritual*: for the Father and the Son will make their *abode* with thee, and Chriſt will *manifeſt* himſelf to thee; for the "*ſecrets* of the Lord are with them that *fear* "*him*:" and an holy *unction*, or *anointing*, have all thoſe, which leads them into *all truth*, and they need not the teachings of men. They are *better* taught, being inſtructed by the *Divine Oracle*: no bare *hear-ſay* or *traditional* Chriſtians, but freſh and *living* witneſſes: thoſe that have ſeen with their *own eyes*, and heard with their *own ears*, and have handled with their *own hands*, the word of life, in the divers operations of it, to their ſouls ſalvation. In this they meet, in this they preach, and in this they pray and praiſe: behold the new covenant fulfilled, the church and worſhip of *Chriſt*, the great *anointed* of God, and the great *anointing* of God, in his holy high prieſthood, and offices in his church!

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

§. 1. *A* confeſſion to *Chriſt* and his *work*, both in *doing* and *ſuffering*. §. 2. That ought not to make void our belief and teſtimony of his *inward* and *ſpiritual appearance* in the *ſoul*. §. 3. What our teſtimony is in the latter reſpect: that it is impoſſible to be ſaved by Chriſt *without us*, while we reject his work and power *within us*. §. 4. The diſpenſation of grace, in its nature and extent. §. 5. A farther acknowledgement to the death and ſufferings of Chriſt. §. 6. The concluſion, ſhewing our adverſaries unreaſonableneſs.

§. 1. AND leſt any ſhould ſay we are *equivocal* in our expreſſions, and *allegorize away* Chriſt's appearance in the fleſh; meaning only thereby *our own* fleſh; and that as often as we mention him, we mean only a *myſtery*, or a *myſtical ſenſe* of him, be it as to his *coming*, *birth*, *miracles*, *ſufferings*, *death*, *reſurrection*, *aſcenſion*, *mediation*, and *judgment*; I would yet add, to preſerve the well-diſpoſed from being ſtaggered by ſuch ſuggeſtions, and to inform and reclaim ſuch as are under the power and prejudice of them, 'That we do, we 'bleſs God, religiouſly believe and confeſs, to the glory 'of God the Father, and the honour of his dear and 'beloved Son, that *Jeſus Chriſt took our nature upon 'him, and was like unto us in all things*, ſin excepted; '*that he was born of the virgin* Mary, *ſuffered under* 'Pontius Pilate, *the* Roman *governor*, *was crucified*, '*dead*, *and buried in the ſepulchre of* Joſeph *of* Ari-'mathea; *roſe again the third day*, *and aſcended into* 'heaven, *and ſits on the right hand of God*, *in the* power 'and majeſty of his Father; *who will one* day *judge the* 'world *by him*, *even that* bleſſed Man, Chriſt Jeſus, '*according to their works*.'

§. 2. But becauſe we *ſo* believe, muſt we not believe what Chriſt ſaid, "He that is with you ſhall be *in you*?" John xiv. "I *in them*, and they *in me*," &c. chap. xvii.

"When

" When it pleaſed God to reveal his Son *in me*," &c. Gal. " The myſtery hid from ages, is Chriſt *in* the " *Gentiles* the hope of glory," Col. i. " Unleſs Chriſt " be *in you*, ye are reprobates?" 2 Cor. xiii. Or muſt we be induſtriouſly repreſented deniers of Chriſt's coming in the *fleſh*, and the holy *ends* of it, in all the parts and branches of his *doing* and *ſuffering*, only becauſe we believe and preſs the neceſſity of believing, receiving and obeying his *inward* and *ſpiritual* appearance and manifeſtation of himſelf, through his *light*, *grace*, and *ſpirit* in the hearts and conſciences of men and women, to reprove, convict, convert and change them? This we eſteem hard and unrighteous meaſure; nor would our warm and ſharp adverſaries be ſo dealt with by others: but to do as they would be done to, is too often no part of their practice, whatever it be of their profeſſion.

§. 3. Yet we are very ready to declare to the whole world, that we cannot think men and women can be *ſaved* by their *belief* of the *one*, without the *ſenſe* and *experience* of the *other*; and *that* is what we oppoſe, and not his bleſſed manifeſtation in the *fleſh*. We ſay, that he then overcame our common enemy, foiled him in the open field, and, in *our nature*, triumphed over *him*, that had overcome and triumphed over *it* in our fore-father *Adam* and his poſterity: and that as truly as Chriſt overcame him in our *nature*, in his own *perſon*, ſo, by his *divine grace*, being received and obeyed by us, he overcomes him in *us*: that is, he *detects* the enemy by his *light* in the conſcience, and *enables* the creature to *reſiſt* him, and all his fiery darts; and, finally, ſo to fight the good fight of faith, as to *overcome* him, and lay hold on eternal life.

§. 4. And this is the diſpenſation of *grace*, which we declare has appeared to *all*, more or leſs; teaching thoſe that will receive it, " to deny ungodlineſs " and worldly luſts, and to live ſoberly, righteouſly, " and godly in this preſent world; looking for (which " *none elſe* can juſtly do) the bleſſed hope, and glori- " ous appearing of the great God, and our Saviour " Jeſus

" Jeſus Chriſt," &c. Tit. ii. 11, 12, 13. And as from the teachings, experience and motion, of this grace we miniſter to others, ſo the very drift of our miniſtry is to turn people's minds *to* this grace in *themſelves*, that all of them may up and be doing, " even the good and acceptable will of God, and " work out their ſalvation with fear and trembling, " and make their high and heavenly calling and elec- " tion ſure;" which none elſe can do, whatever be their profeſſion, church, and character: for " ſuch as " men ſow they muſt reap;" and " his ſervants we " are whom we obey." Regeneration we muſt know, or we cannot be children of God, and heirs of eternal glory: and to be born again, *another* ſpirit and principle muſt prevail, leaven, ſeaſon, and govern us, than either the ſpirit of the world, or our own *depraved* ſpirits; and this can be no *other* ſpirit than *that* which dwelt in *Chriſt*; for unleſs that dwell in us, we can be none of *his*, Rom. viii. 9. And this ſpirit begins in *conviction*, and ends in *converſion* and *perſeverance*; and the one follows the other: *converſion* being the conſequence of convictions *obeyed*, and *perſeverance* a natural *fruit* of converſion, and being born of *God*; for ſuch " ſin not, becauſe the ſeed of God abides " in them:" John iii. 7, 8. But ſuch, through faithfulneſs, continue to the end, and obtain the promiſe, even everlaſting life.

§. 5. But let my reader take this along with him, that we do acknowledge that *Chriſt*, through his holy *doing* and *ſuffering*, (for " being a *ſon*, he learned *obe-* " *dience*,") has obtained *mercy* of God his Father for mankind; and that *his obedience* has an influence to *our ſalvation*, in all the parts and branches of it, ſince thereby he became a *conqueror*, and " led captivity " captive, and obtained gifts for men, with divers " great and precious promiſes, that thereby we might " be partakers of the divine nature, having *(firſt)* " eſcaped the *corruption* that is in the world, through " luſt," I ſay, we do believe, and confeſs, that the *active* and *paſſive obedience* of *Chriſt Jeſus* affects our

ſalvation

ſalvation *throughout*, as well from the power and pollution of ſin, as from the guilt; he being a *conqueror*, as well as a *ſacrifice*, and both through ſuffering: yet they that reject his divine *gift*, ſo obtained, (and which he has given to them, by which to *ſee* their ſin, and the ſinfulneſs of it, and to *repent* and *turn away* from it, and do ſo no more; and to wait upon God for daily ſtrength to reſiſt the fiery darts of the enemy, and to be comforted through the obedience of faith in and to this divine *grace* of the Son of God) ſuch do not *pleaſe* God, believe truly *in* God, nor are they in a ſtate of *true* Chriſtianity and ſalvation. "Woman," ſaid Chriſt, to the Samaritan, at the well, "hadſt "thou known the gift of God, and who it is that "ſpeaketh to thee," &c. People know not Chriſt, and God, "whom to know is life eternal," John xvii. becauſe they are ignorant of the *gift* of God, viz. "a meaſure of the *ſpirit* of God that is given to "every one to profit with," 1 Cor. xii. 7. which reveals Chriſt and God to the ſoul, chap. ii. *Fleſh* and *blood* cannot do it, *Oxford* and *Cambridge* cannot do it, *tongues* and *philoſophy* cannot do it: for they that by *wiſdom* knew not God, had *theſe* things for their *wiſdom*. They were ſtrong, deep and accurate in them; but, alas! they were clouded, puffed up, and ſet farther off from the inward and ſaving knowledge of God, becauſe they ſought for it in *them*, and thought to find God *there*. But the *key* of *David* is another thing, "which ſhuts, and no man opens, and opens, "and no man ſhuts;" and this *key* have all they that receive the *gift* of God into their hearts, and it opens to them the knowledge of God and themſelves, and gives them a *quite other* ſight, taſte and judgment of things, than their *educational* or *traditional* knowledge afforded them. This is the *beginning* of the *new creation* of God, and thus it is we come to be *new* creatures.

And we are bold to declare, there is no other way like this, by which people can come into Chriſt, or be true Chriſtians, or receive the advantage that comes by

by the death and ſufferings of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Wherefore we ſay, and upon good authority, even that of our own *experience*, as well as that of the ſcriptures of truth, 'Chriſt will prove no *ſaving ſacrifice* for 'them, that refuſe to obey him for their *example*.' They that *reject* the *gift*, deny the *giver*, inſtead of *themſelves* for the giver's *ſake*. O that people were wiſe, that they would conſider their latter end, and the things that make for the peace thereof! Why ſhould they periſh in a vain hope of *life*, while *death reigns*? Of living *with* God, who live not *to* him, nor walk *with* him? Awake, thou that ſleepeſt in thy ſin, or, at beſt, in thy ſelf-righteouſneſs! Awake, I ſay, and Chriſt ſhall give thee life! for he is the "Lord from heaven, the quickening ſpirit," that quickens us, by his ſpirit, if we do not *reſiſt* it and *quench* it by our diſobedience, but receive, love and obey it, in all the holy leadings and teachings of it. Rom. viii. 14, 15. To which holy ſpirit I commend my reader, that he may the better ſee where he is, and alſo come to the true belief and advantage of the *doings* and *ſufferings* of our dear and bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who ſaves from the *power* and *pollution*, as well as *guilt* of ſin, all thoſe that "hear his knocks, and open the door of their hearts "to him," that he may come in, and work a real and thorough *reformation* in and for them; and ſo the benefit, virtue, and efficacy of his doings and ſufferings *without us*, will come to be livingly and effectually applied and felt, and fellowſhip with Chriſt in his death and ſufferings known, according to the doctrine of the apoſtle; which thoſe that live in *that* which *made* him ſuffer, *know* not, though they profeſs to be ſaved by his death and ſufferings. Much more might be ſaid as to this matter, but I muſt be brief.

§. 6. To conclude this chapter: we wonder not that we ſhould be miſtaken, miſ-conſtrued and miſ-repreſented, in what we believe and do to ſalvation, ſince our betters have been ſo treated in the primitive times.

times. Nor, indeed, is it only about *doctrines* of religion; for our *practice* in worſhip and diſcipline has had the ſame ſucceſs. But this is what I earneſtly deſire, that however bold people are pleaſed to make with us, they would not *deceive* themſelves in the great things of their own ſalvation: that while they would ſeem to own all to Chriſt, they are not found *diſowned* of Chriſt in the laſt day. Read the 7th of Matthew: it is he that *hears Chriſt*, the great *word of God*, and *does* what he *enjoins*, what he commands, and by his bleſſed example recommends, that is a *wiſe builder*, that has founded his houſe well, and built with good materials, and whoſe houſe will ſtand the laſt ſhock and judgment. For which cauſe we are often plain, cloſe and earneſt with people to conſider, that Chriſt came not to ſave them *in*, but *from*, their ſins; and that they that think to diſcharge and releaſe themſelves of his yoke and burden, his *croſs* and *example*, and ſecure themſelves, and compliment Chriſt with his having done all *for them* (while he has wrought little or nothing *in them*, nor they parted with any thing for the *love* of him) will finally awake in a dreadful ſurprize, at the ſound of the laſt trumpet, and at this ſad and irrevocable ſentence, "Depart "from me, ye workers of iniquity, I know you not:" which terrible end may all timely avoid, by "hark-"ening to wiſdom's voice, and turning at her re-"proof, that ſhe may lead them in the ways of right-"eouſneſs, and in the midſt of the paths of judg-"ment, that their ſouls may come to inherit *ſub-"ſtance*;" even *durable* riches and righteouſneſs, in the kingdom of the Father, world without end.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

§. 1. Of the true *worſhip* of God, in what it ſtands. §. 2. Of the true *miniſtry*, that it is by *inſpiration*. §. 3. The ſcripture plain in that caſe. §. 4. Chriſt's miniſters, *true witneſſes*, they ſpeak what they *know*, not by report. §. 5. Chriſt's miniſters preach *freely*, it is one of their *marks*.

§. 1. AS the Lord wrought effectually, by his divine grace, in the hearts of this people, ſo he thereby brought them to a divine *worſhip* and *miniſtry*; Chriſt's words they came to experience, viz. "That God was a ſpirit, and that he would there-"fore be worſhipped in the ſpirit, and in the truth, "and that ſuch worſhippers the Father would ſeek to "worſhip him." For, bowing to the convictions of the ſpirit in themſelves, in their daily courſe of living, by which they were taught to eſchew that which was made manifeſt to them to be evil, and to do that which was good, they, in their aſſembling together, ſat down and waited for the preparation of this holy ſpirit, both to let them ſee their ſtates and conditions before the Lord, and to worſhip him acceptably; and as they were ſenſible of wants, or ſhortneſs, or infirmities, ſo in the ſecret of their own hearts, prayer would ſpring to God, through Jeſus Chriſt, to help, aſſiſt, and ſupply: but they did not dare to "awake "their beloved before his time;" or "approach the "throne of the king of glory, till he held out his "ſcepter;" or "take thought what they ſhould ſay," or after their *own*, or *other mens*, ſtudied words and forms; for this were to offer *ſtrange fire*; to pray, but not by the *ſpirit*; to aſk, but not in the *name*, that is, in the *power*, of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who prayed, as well as ſpoke, like one having authority, that is, *power*, a *divine energy* and *force* to reach and pierce the heavens, which he gives to all that obey his *light*, *grace*, and

and *ſpirit*, in their ſolemn waitings upon him. So that it is this people's principle, that *fire muſt come from heaven*, life and power from God, to enable the ſoul to pour out itſelf acceptably before him. And when a *coal from his holy altar touches our lips*, then can we pray and praiſe him as we ought to do. And as this is our principle, and that according to ſcripture, ſo it is, bleſſed be God, our experience and practice: and therefore it is we are ſeparated from the worſhips of men under their ſeveral forms, becauſe they do not found it in the operation, motion and aſſiſtance of the ſpirit of Chriſt, but the appointment, invention and framing of man, both as to matter, words, and time. We do not diſſent in our *own* wills, and we dare not comply againſt *his* that has called us, and brought us to his own ſpiritual worſhip; in obedience to whom we are what we are, in our ſeparation from the divers ways of worſhip in the world.

§. 2. And as our *worſhip* ſtands in the operation of the *ſpirit* and *truth* in our inward parts, as before expreſſed, ſo does our *miniſtry*. For as the holy teſtimonies of the ſervants of God of old, were from the operation of his bleſſed ſpirit, ſo muſt thoſe of his ſervants be in every age; and that which has *not* the ſpirit of Chriſt for its ſpring and ſource, is of *man*, and not of *Chriſt*. Chriſtian miniſters are to miniſter what they *receive*: this is ſcripture: now that which we *receive* is not our *own*, leſs another man's, but the *Lord*'s: ſo that we are not only not to *ſteal* from our neighbours, but we are not to ſtudy nor ſpeak our *own* words. If we are not to ſtudy what we are to ſay before magiſtrates for *ourſelves*, leſs are we to ſtudy what we are to ſay *for* and *from* God to the *people*. We are to miniſter, "as the oracles of *God*:" if ſo, then muſt we receive from *Chriſt*, God's great oracle, what we are to miniſter. And if we are to miniſter what we *receive*, then not what we ſtudy, collect, and beat out of our own brains; for that is not the mind of *Chriſt*, but our *imaginations*, and this will not *profit* the people.

§. 3.

§. 3. This was recommended to the Corinthians by the apoſtle Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. that they ſhould ſpeak "as they were *moved*," or "as any thing was *revealed* "to them, by the ſpirit," for the edification of the church; for, ſays he, "Ye may *all* propheſy;" that is, 'Ye may all preach to edification, as any thing is 'revealed to you, for the good of others, and as the 'ſpirit giveth utterance.' And if the *ſpirit* muſt give Chriſt's miniſters their utterance, then thoſe that are his are careful not to utter any thing in his name to the people, *without* his ſpirit; and, by good conſequence, they that go *before* the true guide, and utter words without the knowledge of the *mind* of the ſpirit, are none of Chriſt's miniſters: ſuch, certainly, run, and God has not ſent them, and they cannot profit the people. And indeed, how ſhould they, when it is impoſſible that mere *man*, with all his parts, arts and acquirements, can "turn people from darkneſs to "light, and from the power of Satan to God," which is the very end and work of the goſpel-miniſtry. It muſt be *inſpired* men, men gifted by *God*, taught and influenced by his heavenly *ſpirit*, that can be qualified for ſo great, ſo inward, and ſo ſpiritual a work.

§. 4. *Miniſters* of Chriſt are his *witneſſes*; and the credit of a witneſs is, that he has *heard*, *ſeen*, or *handled*: and thus the beloved diſciple ſtates the *truth* and *authority* of their *miſſion* and *miniſtry*; 1 John i. 1, 3. "That which we have heard, which we have ſeen "with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our "hands have handled, that declare we unto you, that "your fellowſhip may be with us, and truly our fel-"lowſhip is with the Father, and with his Son Jeſus "Chriſt." I ſay, if Chriſt's miniſters are his witneſſes, they muſt *know* what they ſpeak; that is, they muſt have experienced, and paſſed through, thoſe *ſtates* and *conditions* they preach of, and practically know thoſe truths they declare of to the people, or they come not in by the *door*, but over the wall, and are *thieves* and *robbers*. He that has the key of David comes in at the door, Chriſt Jeſus, and has his admiſ-

ſion and approbation from him, *anointed* by him, the alone *high prieſt* of the goſpel diſpenſation. He it is that *breathes*, and lays his *hands* upon his own miniſters; he *anoints* them, and recruits their cruiſe, and renews their horn with *oil*, that they may have it freſh and freſh, for every occaſion and ſervice he calls them to, and engages them in.

§. 5. Nor is this all, but as they "Receive freely, "freely they give:" they do not teach for *hire*, divine for *money*, nor preach for *gifts* or *rewards*. It was Chriſt's holy command to his miniſters to give *freely*, and it is our practice. And truly we cannot but admire that this ſhould be made a fault, and that preaching for hire ſhould not be ſeen to *be* one, yea, a *mark* of falſe prophets, when it has been ſo frequently and ſeverely cried out upon, by the true prophets of God in former times. I would not be uncharitable; but the guilty are deſired to call to mind, who it was that offered *money* to be made a miniſter, and what it was for, if not to *get* money, and make a trade or livelihood by it; and what anſwer he met with from the apoſtle Peter, Acts viii. 18, 19, 20. The Lord touch the hearts of thoſe that are giving money to be made miniſters, in order to *live* by their preaching, that they may ſee what ground it is they build upon, and repent, and turn to the Lord, that they may find mercy, and become living witneſſes of his power and goodneſs in their own ſouls; ſo may they be enabled to tell others *what God has done for them*, which is the *root* and *ground* of the *true* miniſtry; and this miniſtry it is that God does bleſs. I could ſay much on this ſubject, but let what has been ſaid ſuffice at this time; only I cannot but obſerve, that where any religion has a ſtrong temptation of gain to induce men to be miniſters, there is great danger of their running faſter to that calling, than becomes a true goſpel miniſter.

§. 1. Obj. 'But does not this ſort of miniſtry, and 'worſhip, tend to make people *careleſs*, and to raiſe 'ſpiritual

'ſpiritual pride in others? May it not give an occaſion 'to great miſchief and irreligion?'

Anſ. By no means; for when people are of *age*, they of right, expect their inheritances; and the end of all words is to bring people to the great *word*, and then the promiſe of God is accompliſhed, "They ſhall be "all taught of *me*, from the leaſt to the greateſt, and "in righteouſneſs (pray mark that) they ſhall be "eſtabliſhed, and great ſhall be their peace." To this of the evangelical prophet, the beloved diſciple agrees, and gives a full anſwer to the objection: "Theſe things have I written unto you, concerning "them that *ſeduce* you: but the *anointing*, which ye "have received of him, abideth *in you*, and ye *need* "*not* that any man teach you, but as the ſame *anoint-* "*ing* teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is "no lie: and even as it hath taught you, ye ſhall "*abide* in him." In which, three things are obſervable. 1ſt. That he writ his epiſtle upon an extraordinary occaſion, viz. to prevent their *deluſion*. 2dly. That he aſſerts a *nearer* and *ſuperior* miniſter than himſelf, viz. The *anointing* or *grace* they had received; and that not only in *that* particular exigency, but in *all caſes* that might attend them. 3dly. That if they did but take heed to the teachings of it, they would have no need of *man*'s directions, or fear of his ſeducings; at leaſt of no *miniſtry* that comes not from the *power* of the *anointing*: though I rather take the apoſtle in the *higheſt* ſenſe of the words: thus alſo the apoſtle Paul to the Theſſalonians, "But as touching "brotherly love, ye need not that I write unto you: "for ye yourſelves are taught of *God* to love one ano- "ther." 1 Theſſ. iv. 9. But *helps* are *uſeful*, and a great bleſſing, if from *God*, ſuch was John the Baptiſt's; but remember he pointed all to *Chriſt*, 1 John i. 26. "Lo the Lamb of God! I baptize you with "*water*, but he ſhall baptize you with the *Holy Ghoſt*, "and with *fire*," Matt. iii. 11. And ſo the *true* miniſtry *does*. And while people are *ſenſual*, and under ſuch an eclipſe, by the interpoſition of *ſin* and *Satan*,

God is pleaſed to ſend forth his *enlightening* ſervants to awaken and turn from the *darkneſs* to the *light* in themſelves, that, through obedience to it, they may come to be "children of the light," John xii. 36. and have their fellowſhip one with another *in it*, and an inheritance, at laſt, with the ſaints in light for ever.

And as it is the way God has taken to call and gather people, ſo a *living* and *holy miniſtry* is of great advantage, to watch over and build up the young, and comfort and eſtabliſh the feeble and ſimple ones. But ſtill, I ſay, the *more inward*, the *leſs outward*: the more people come to be taught immediately of *God*, by the light of his word and Spirit in their hearts, the leſs need of *outward* means: read Iſaiah xvi. 19, 20. which is held by all to be a goſpel promiſe, and the *ſun* and *moon* there are generally underſtood to mean the *external means* in the church. Compare them with John i. 13. Rom. i. 19. 1 Cor. ii. 11, 15. 1 Theſſ. iv. 9. 1 John ii. 20, 27. Rev. xxi. 22, 23, 24. All which places prove what we aſſert of the ſufficiency and glorious privilege of inward and ſpiritual teachings. And, moſt certainly, as men grow in *grace*, and know the *anointing* of the *word* in themſelves, the diſpenſation will be *leſs* in words (though *in* words) and more in *life*; and *preaching* will in great meaſure be turned into *praiſing*, and the *worſhip* of God, more into *walking with*, than *talking of*, God: for that is *worſhip indeed*, that *bows* to his will at *all times*, and in *all places*: the *trueſt*, the *higheſt* worſhip man is capable of in this world. And it is that *conformity* that gives communion; and there is no fellowſhip with God, no light of his countenance to be enjoyed, no peace and aſſurance to be had, farther than their obedience to his *will*, and a faithfulneſs to his *word*, according to the manifeſtation of the light thereof in the heart.

I ſay, this is the *trueſt* and *higheſt* ſtate of worſhip; for *ſet days and places*, with all the ſolemnity of them, were moſt in requeſt in the *weakeſt* diſpenſation. *Altars*, *ark*, and *temples*, *ſabbaths* and *feſtivals*, &c. are not to be found in the writings of the New Teſtament. There, every

every day is *alike*, and every place is *alike*; but if there *were* a dedication "let it be to the *Lord*." Thus the apoſtle; but he plainly ſhews a ſtate beyond it; "for "to live (with *him*) was Chriſt, and to die was gain;" for the life he lived "was by the faith of the Son of "God; and therefore it was not *he* that lived, but Chriſt "that lived *in* him;[b]" that is, that *ruled*, *conducted*, and *bore ſway* in him, which is the *true Chriſtian life*, the *ſuperſenſual life*; the *life of converſion* and *regeneration*; to which all the diſpenſations of God, and miniſtry of his ſervants, have ever tended, as the *conſummation* of God's work for man's happineſs. Here every man is a *temple*, and every family a *church*, and every place, a *meeting-place*, and every viſit, a *meeting*. And yet a little while, and it ſhall be ſo yet more and more; and a people the Lord is now preparing to enter into this ſabbath or degree of reſt.

Not that we ſhould be thought to undervalue publick and ſolemn meetings; we have them all over the nation where the Lord has called us. Yea, though but two or three of us be in a corner of a country, we meet, as the apoſtle exhorted the ſaints of his time, and reproved ſuch as neglected to aſſemble themſelves. But yet ſhew we unto thee, O reader, "a more *excellent* "way of worſhip:" for many have come to thoſe meetings, and go away *carnal*, *dead*, and *dry*; but the worſhippers in *ſpirit* and in *truth*, whoſe *hearts* bow, whoſe *minds* adore the eternal God, "that is a Spirit," in and by his Spirit, ſuch as conform to his will, and walk with him in a ſpiritual life, they are the *true*, *conſtant*, *living*, and *acceptable* worſhippers, whether it be in meetings or out of meetings: and as with ſuch, all outward aſſemblies are greatly comfortable, ſo alſo do we meet for a *publick* teſtimony of religion and worſhip, and for the edification and encouragement of thoſe that are yet *young* in the truth, and to *call* and *gather* others to the knowledge of it, who are yet going

[b] Rom. xiv. 5, 6, 7, 8, 17. 1 Cor. viii. 6. Col. ii. 16, 17. Phil. i. 21. Gal. ii. 20.

aſtray: and, bleſſed be God, it is not in vain, ſince many are thereby added to the church, that we hope, and believe, ſhall be ſaved.

CHAP. XI.

§. 1. Againſt *tithes*. §. 2. Againſt all *ſwearing*. §. 3. Againſt *war* among *Chriſtians*. §. 4. Againſt the *ſalutations* of the *times*. §. 5. And for plainneſs *of ſpeech*. §. 6. Againſt *mixed marriages*. §. 7. And for plainneſs in *apparel*, *&c*. No *ſports* and *paſtimes* after the manner of this world. §. 8. Of obſerving *days*. §. 9. Of care of poor, peace, and converſation.

§. 1. AND as God has been pleaſed to call us from an *human* miniſtry, ſo we cannot, for conſcience ſake, ſupport and maintain it: and upon that ſcore, and not out of humour or covetouſneſs, we refuſe to pay *tithes*, or ſuch-like pretended dues, concerning which, many books have been writ in our defence: we cannot ſupport what we cannot approve, but have a teſtimony againſt; for thereby we ſhould be found inconſiſtent with ourſelves.

§. 2. We dare not *ſwear*, becauſe Chriſt forbids it, Mat. v. 34, 37. and James, his true follower. It is needleſs, as well as evil; for the reaſon of ſwearing being *untruth*, that mens *yea was not yea*, *ſwearing* was uſed to awe men to truth-ſpeaking, and to give others ſatisfaction that what was ſworn was *true*. But the true Chriſtian's *yea being yea*, the end of an *oath* is anſwered, and therefore the uſe of it is *needleſs*, *ſuperfluous*, and cometh of *evil*. The apoſtle James taught the ſame doctrine, and the primitive Chriſtians practiſed it, as may be ſeen in the Book of Martyrs; as alſo the earlieſt and beſt of the reformers.

§. 3. We alſo believe, that *war* ought to *ceaſe* among the followers of the *Lamb*, Chriſt Jeſus, who taught his diſciples to "forgive and love their enemies," and not to war againſt them, and kill them; and that therefore

the

the weapons of his true followers are not *carnal*, but *ſpiritual*; yea mighty, through God, to cut down *ſin* and *wickedneſs*, and dethrone *him* that is the *author* thereof. And as this is the moſt *Chriſtian*, ſo the moſt *rational* way; love and perſuaſion having more force than weapons of war. Nor would the worſt of men eaſily be brought to *hurt* thoſe that they really think *love* them. It is that love and patience which muſt, in the end, have the victory.

§. 4. We dare not give worldly honour, or uſe the frequent and *modiſh ſalutations* of the times, ſeeing plainly, that *vanity*, *pride*, and *oſtentation*, belong to them. Chriſt alſo *forbad* them in his day, and made the *love* of them a mark of declenſion from the ſimplicity of purer times; and his diſciples, and their followers, were obſerved to have obeyed their Maſter's precept. It is not to diſtinguiſh ourſelves a party, or out of *pride*, *ill-breeding*, or *humour*, but in obedience to the ſight and ſenſe we have received from the Spirit of Chriſt, of the *evil riſe* and tendency thereof.

§. 5. For the ſame reaſon we have returned to the firſt plainneſs of ſpeech, viz. *thou* and *thee*, to a ſingle perſon; which though men give no other to *God*, they will hardly endure it from *us*. It has been a great teſt upon *pride*, and ſhewn the blind and weak *inſides* of many. This alſo is out of pure conſcience, whatever people may think or ſay of us for it. We may be deſpiſed, and have been ſo often, yea, very evilly intreated; but we are now better known, and people better informed. In ſhort, it is alſo both *ſcripture* and *grammar*, and we have propriety of ſpeech for it, as well as peace in it.

§. 6. We cannot allow of *mixed marriages*, that is, to join with ſuch as are not of our ſociety, but oppoſe and diſown them, if at any time any of our profeſſion ſo groſly err from the rule of their communion; yet reſtore them upon ſincere repentance, but not disjoin them. The book I writ of the Riſe and Progreſs of the People called Quakers, is more full and expreſs therein.

§. 7. Plainneſs in *apparel* and *furniture*, is another teſtimony peculiar to us, in the degree that we have borne it to the world: as alſo *few words*, and being *at a word*. Likewiſe temperance in *food*, and abſtinence from the *recreations* and *paſtimes* of the world: all which we have been taught, by the Spirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to be according to godlineſs; and therefore we have long exhorted all, that their "Moderation may be known unto all men, for that the "Lord was at hand," to enter into judgment with us for every intemperance or exceſs; and herein we hope we have been no ill example, or ſcandal unto any that have a due conſideration of things.

§. 8. We cannot, in conſcience to God, obſerve *holy days*, (ſo called) the publick *faſts* and *feaſts*, becauſe of their *human* inſtitution and ordination, and that they have not a *divine* warrant, but are appointed in the will of *man*.

§. 9. Laſtly, we have been led by this good Spirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt of which I have treated in this diſcourſe, according to primitive practice, to have a due *care* over one another, for the preſervation of the whole ſociety in a converſation more ſuitable to their holy profeſſion.

Firſt, In reſpect to a *ſtrict* walking, both towards thoſe that are without, and thoſe that are within; that their converſation in the world, and walking in and towards the church, may be blameleſs. That as they may be *ſtrict* in the one, ſo they may be *faithful* in the other.

Secondly, That collections be made to ſupply the wants of the *poor*, and that care be taken of *widows* and *orphans*, and ſuch as are helpleſs, as well in counſel, as about ſubſtance.

Thirdly, That all ſuch as are intended to marry, if they have *parents*, or are under the direction of *guardians* or *truſtees*, are obliged, firſt, to declare to them their intention, and have their conſent, before they propoſe it to one another, and the meeting they relate to; who are alſo careful to examine their clearneſs, and being ſatisfied

ſatisfied with it, they are by them allowed to ſolemnize their marriage in a publick ſelect meeting, for that purpoſe appointed, and not otherwiſe: whereby all *clandeſtine* and *indirect* marriages are prevented among us.

Fourthly, And to the end that this good order may be obſerved, for the comfort and edification of the ſociety, in the ways of truth and ſoberneſs; ſelect meetings (of care and buſineſs) are fixed in all parts where we inhabit, which are held monthly, and which reſolve into quarterly meetings, and thoſe into one yearly meeting, for our better communication one with another, in thoſe things that maintain piety and charity; that God, who by his grace has called us to be a people to his praiſe, may have it from us, through his beloved Son, and our ever-bleſſed and only Redeemer, Jeſus Chriſt, for he is worthy, worthy, now, and ever. Amen.

Thus, reader, thou haſt the character of the people called Quakers, in their doctrine, worſhip, miniſtry, practice, and diſcipline: compare it with ſcripture and primitive example, and we hope thou wilt find, that this ſhort diſcourſe hath, in good meaſure, anſwered the title of it, viz.

Primitive Chriſtianity Revived, in the Principles and Practice of the People called Quakers.

A TESTI-

A TESTIMONY TO THE TRUTH OF GOD, AS HELD BY THE PEOPLE called QUAKERS.

BEING

A SHORT VINDICATION of them from the ABUSES and MISREPRESENTATIONS often put upon them by *Envious Apoſtates* and *Mercenary Adverſaries*.

Publiſhed in the Year 1698.

TO THE READER.

READER,

OCcaſion having been given us, which we never ſought, we continue to improve it to the farther explanation and defence of our ſo much abuſed profeſſion; that, if poſſible, people may ſee, at leaſt the more ſober and candid, that we are not at that diſtance from truth, nor ſo heterdox in our principles, as we have been, by too many, either raſhly or intereſtedly repreſented: but that we hold the great truths of Chriſtianity, according to the holy ſcriptures, and that

that the realities of religion are the mark we preſs after, and to diſabuſe and awaken people from their falſe hopes and carnal ſecurities, under which they are too apt to indulge themſelves, to their irreparable loſs; that by our ſetting Chriſtian doctrine in a true light, and reviving and preſſing the neceſſity of a better practice, they may ſee the obligation they are under to redeem their precious time they have loſt, by a more careful employment of that which remains, to a better purpoſe. In this ſhort vindication of our miſtaken principles, the ingenuous reader may eaſily diſcern how ill we have been treated, and what hardſhips we have laboured under, through the prejudice of ſome, and the unreaſonable credulity of others, and that we are a people in earneſt for heaven, and in that way our bleſſed Lord hath trod for us to glory.

A TESTIMONY

A

TESTIMONY

TO THE

TRUTH OF GOD.

BY the obſervation we are led to make from Francis Bugg's late book, upon the biſhop of Norwich's giving him his recommendatory letter to the clergy, &c. in his dioceſe, to relieve, by a collection, the neceſſities of that beggarly apoſtate; a copy of which letter the ſaid F. B. hath publiſhed in his ſaid book:

And alſo by the obſervation we have made on the malicious attempts of the "Snake in the Graſs," in his firſt, ſecond, and third editions, which is a diſingenuous and unjuſt collection from F. Bugg, and ſome other deſerters, of things, for the moſt part, long ſince anſwered; as alſo lately, by the book intituled, "An Antidote," &c. (though becauſe his ſecond and third edition have ſome additions to his firſt, and that being new vamped, for a better market, he may expect a *melius inquirendum* after a while; yet ſhould we follow the example of this *rattle-ſnake*, againſt the church of which he pretends to be a member, but at preſent a *ſuſpended* one, we might, in retaliation, not only exceed the "Cobler of Glouceſter," but the "Scotch Eloquence," and that maſter-piece, "The "Ground of the Contempt of the Clergy:")

And,

And, laſtly, by the obſervation we have made on the relation ſubſcribed by ſome of the Norfolk clergy, dated October the 12th, 1698, we cannot forbear thinking, that as their confederacy is deep, ſo it aims at nothing leſs than the ruin of us, and our poſterity, by rendering us blaſphemers, and enemies to the government, and to be treated as ſuch.

The Norfolk relation from the clergy aforeſaid, charges the ſaid people with *blaſphemy*: firſt, *Againſt God.* Secondly, *Againſt Jeſus Chriſt.* Thirdly, *Againſt the holy ſcriptures, with contempt of civil magiſtracy, and the ordinances which Jeſus Chriſt inſtituted, viz. baptiſm by water, and the Lord's ſupper by bread and wine.* And, Laſtly, *That the light within, as taught by us, leaves us without any certain rule, and expoſes us to the blaſphemies aforeſaid, with many others.*

Now, becauſe this charge refers to doctrine, rather than fact, or particular perſons, we think ourſelves concerned to ſay ſomething in vindication of our profeſſion, and to wipe off the dirt thereby intended to be caſt upon us, in giving our reader a plain account of our principles, free from the perverſions of our enemies.

But to manifeſt how uncharitably and unjuſtly the ſaid clergymen have reflected upon the people called Quakers, with reſpect to the ſaid charge, we are contented the reader goes no farther than their own printed relation, dated Nov. 12, 1698, not doubting but by that very relation, and the letters therewith printed, he will meet with intire ſatisfaction, with reſpect to the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of the Quakers proceedings in that affair, and how ready they were to come to the teſt, and to bring the pretended charge upon the ſtage, and to purge themſelves from the guilt of the ſame, provided they might be accommodated with what the common law allows malefactors, viz. a copy of their indictment; but this could not be obtained. And though the ſaid clergy have thought fit to print the charge in general, without any proof, we think ourſelves obliged to vindicate our profeſſion, by freely declaring,

declaring, (as now we do, without any *mental reſervation*) our ſincere belief of the very things they moſt unjuſtly charge us with denying.

I. Concerning God.] Becauſe we declare, that God is a "God nigh at hand," and that he is, according to his promiſe, become the "Teacher of his people "by his ſpirit in theſe latter days;" and that "True "believers are the temples for him to walk and dwell "in," as the apoſtle teacheth; and experiencing ſomething of the accompliſhment of this great and glorious truth among us, and having therefore preſſed people earneſtly to the knowledge and enjoyment thereof, as the bleſſing and glory of the latter days; we have been ignorantly, or maliciouſly, repreſented and treated as hereticks and blaſphemers, as if we owned no God in heaven above the ſtars, and confined the Holy One of Iſrael to our beings: whereas we believe him to be the Eternal, Incomprehenſible, Almighty, Allwiſe and Omnipreſent God, creator and upholder of all things, and that he fills heaven and earth, and that the "Heaven of heavens cannot contain him;" yet he ſaith, by the prophet Iſaiah, "To that man "will I have regard, that is poor, and of a contrite "ſpirit, and which trembles at my word." So that for profeſſing that which is the very *marrow* of the *Chriſtian religion*, viz. 'Emanuel, God with *us*,' we are repreſented blaſphemers againſt that God, with whom we leave our innocent and ſuffering cauſe. Iſa. vii. xiv. xl. xxviii. xlviii. xvii. lxvi. 1, 2. 2 Cor. vi. 16. Rev. xxi. 3.

II. Concerning Jeſus Chriſt.] Becauſe we believe, that the *word* which was made fleſh, and dwelt amongſt men, and was and is the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth; his beloved Son, in whom he is well pleaſed, and whom we ought to hear in all things; who taſted death for every man, and died for ſin, that we might die to ſin; is the great *light* of the *world*, and full of grace and truth,

and

and that he lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and giveth them grace for grace, and light for light, and that no man can know God and Chriſt, (whom to know is life eternal) and themſelves, in order to true conviction and converſion, without receiving and obeying this holy light, and being taught by the Divine grace; and that without it, no remiſſion, no juſtification, no ſalvation (as the ſcripture plentifully teſtifies) can be obtained: and becauſe we therefore preſs the neceſſity of people's receiving the inward and ſpiritual appearance of his Divine word, in order to a *right* and *beneficial* application of whatſoever he did for man, with reſpect to his life, miracles, death, ſufferings, reſurrection, aſcenſion and mediation; our adverſaries would have us deny *any Chriſt without us*. Firſt, As to his divinity, becauſe they make us to confine him too within us. Secondly, As to his humanity, or manhood, becauſe as he was the Son of Abraham, David, and Mary, according to the fleſh, he cannot be in us, and therefore we are hereticks and blaſphemers: whereas we believe him, according to the ſcripture, to be the Son of Abraham, David, and Mary, after the fleſh, and alſo God over all, bleſſed for ever. So that he that is within us, is alſo without us, even the ſame that laid down his precious life for us, roſe again from the dead, and ever liveth to make interceſſion for us, being the bleſſed and *alone* mediator betwixt God and man, and him by whom God will finally judge the world, both quick and dead: all which we as ſincerely and ſtedfaſtly believe, as any other ſociety of people, whatever may be ignorantly, or maliciouſly, inſinuated to the contrary, either by our declared enemies, or miſtaken neighbours. Deut. xv. 18. Mic. v. 2. John i. 1, 2, 3. Rev. xxii. 16.

III. Concerning the holy ſcriptures.] Becauſe we aſſert the holy ſpirit to be the *firſt* great and general rule and guide of true Chriſtians, as that by which *God* is worſhipped, *ſin* detected, *conſcience* convicted,

duty

duty manifeſted, *ſcripture* unfolded and explained, and conſequently the rule for *underſtanding* the ſcriptures themſelves (ſince by it they were at firſt given forth) from hence our adverſaries are pleaſed to make us *blaſphemers* of the holy ſcriptures, undervaluing their authority, preferring our own books before them, with more to that purpoſe: whereas, we, in truth and ſincerity, believe them to be of divine authority, given by the inſpiration of God, through holy men; they ſpeaking or writing them as they were *moved* by the Holy Ghoſt: that they are a declaration of thoſe things moſt ſurely believed by the primitive Chriſtians, and that as they contain the mind and will of God, and are his commands to us, ſo they, in that reſpect, are his *declaratory* word; and therefore are obligatory on us, and are "profitable for doctrine, reproof, correc-"tion, and inſtruction in righteouſneſs, that the man "of God may be perfect, and thoroughly furniſhed to "every good work."

Nay, after all, ſo *unjuſt* is the charge, and ſo remote from our belief concerning the holy ſcriptures, that we both love, honour, and prefer them, before all books in the world; ever chuſing to expreſs our belief of the Chriſtian faith and doctrine in the terms thereof, and rejecting all principles or doctrines whatſoever, that are repugnant thereunto.

Nevertheleſs we are well perſuaded, that notwithſtanding there is ſuch an excellency in the holy ſcriptures, as we have above declared, yet the *unſtable* and *unlearned* in *Chriſt*'s ſchool too often *wreſt* them to their own deſtruction. And upon our reflection on their *carnal* conſtructions of them, we are made undervaluers of *ſcripture itſelf*. But certain it is, that as the Lord hath been pleaſed to give us the experience of the fulfilling of them in meaſure, ſo it is altogether contrary to our faith and practice, to put any manner of ſlight or contempt upon them, much more of being guilty of what maliciouſly is ſuggeſted againſt us; ſince no ſociety of profeſſed Chriſtians in the world can have a more reverent and honourable eſteem for

them than we have. John iv. 24. and xvi. 8. Rom. i. 19. Luke i. 1, 2. Tim. iii. 16, 17. 2 Pet. iii. 16.

IV. Concerning magiſtracy.] Becauſe we have not *actively* complied with divers ſtatutes, which have been made to force an *uniformity* to what we have no faith in, but the teſtimony of our conſcience is againſt; and becauſe, for conſcience ſake, we could not give thoſe *marks* of honour and reſpect, which were and are the uſual practice of thoſe that "ſeek honour one of another, and not that honour which comes from God only," (but meaſure and weigh honour and reſpect in a *falſe* balance, and *deceitful* meaſure, on which, neither magiſtrate, ruler, or people can depend) we ſay, becauſe we could not, for conſcience ſake, give flattering titles, &c. we have been rendered as deſpiſers and contemners of *magiſtracy*: whereas our principles, often repeated upon the many revolutions that have happened, do evidently manifeſt the contrary; as well as our peaceable behaviour from the beginning, under all the various forms of government, hath been an undeniable plea in our favour, when thoſe that alſo have profeſſed the ſame principles of *non-reſiſtance*, and *paſſive obedience*, have quitted their principles, and yet quarrel with us, upon a ſuppoſition that we will, in time, write after their copy: which, as nothing is more contrary to our principles, faith, and doctrine, ſo nothing can be more contrary to our conſtant practice.

For we not only really believe magiſtracy to be an ordinance of God, but eſteem it an extraordinary bleſſing, where it is "a praiſe to them that do well, and "a terror to evil-doers:" which that it may be ſo in this our native land, is the fervent deſire of our ſouls, that the bleſſing and peace of God may be continued thereupon, Job. xxxii. 21. John v. 44. Acts v. 29. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14.

V. Concerning baptiſm.] Becauſe we do not find in any place in the four evangeliſts, that Jeſus Chriſt inſtituted

ſtituted *baptiſm* by *water* to come in the room of *circumciſion*, or to be the baptiſm proper to his kingdom, which ſtands "in righteouſneſs, peace, and joy in "the Holy Ghoſt;" we are therefore rendered as contemners of *Chriſt's baptiſm:* whereas the baptiſm of Jeſus Chriſt, of which he was Lord and adminiſtrator, according to the nature of his office and kingdom, is, even by *John* the *Baptiſt*, declared to be that of *fire* (not *water*) and of the *Holy Ghoſt*, of which *water-baptiſm* was but the forerunner, and is, by them that now practiſe it, called but the *outward* and *viſible ſign* of the *inward* and *ſpiritual grace*; and therefore not the *grace itſelf*; which grace, as the apoſtle ſaith, is *ſufficient* for us, and which we believe, profeſs, and experience to be come by Jeſus Chriſt, who is the *ſubſtance* of all ſigns and ſhadows to true believers; he being no more a Jew or a Chriſtian that is one *outwardly*, by the cutting or waſhing of the fleſh; but he is a Jew or Chriſtian who is one *inwardly*, and circumciſion and baptiſm is of the *heart*, in the Spirit, and not in the letter, whoſe praiſe is therefore not of men, but of God: and this baptiſm Chriſt preferred and recommended at his farewell to his diſciples: in reverence and duty to whom, to ſay nothing of the *abuſe* of water-baptiſm, we decline the uſe thereof, Mark i. 8. Luke iii. 16. John i. 17. Acts i. 5. Rom. xiv. 17. Rom. ii. 28, 29. 1 Cor. i. 17. 2 Cor. xii. 9.

VI. Concerning breaking bread, &c.] Becauſe we alſo diſuſe the *outward ceremony* of breaking bread and drinking wine, which is commonly called the *Lord's ſupper*, we are therefore rendered deniers and contemners of the Lord's ſupper: whereas the inward and ſpiritual *grace*, thereby *ſignified*, viz. that *bread* which came down from *heaven*, which Chriſt prefers to the bread the fathers eat in the wilderneſs (which did not keep them from *death*) and that *cup* which he promiſed to drink *a-new* with his diſciples in his Father's kingdom, we not only believe, but reverently partake of, to our unſpeakable comfort, which is rightly and truly

the communion of the body and blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſaid, "Except you eat the fleſh of "the Son of Man, and drink his blood, you have no "life in you," John vi. 53, 63. For it is "the *Spirit* "that quickens, the *fleſh* profits nothing:" It was alſo his promiſe to all thoſe that would open at his knocks, viz. "That he would *come in*, and *ſup* with them;" which inward and ſpiritual coming, we have both known, and teſtified to; feeling the bleſſed effects thereof in our ſouls, and knowing the *outward breaking of bread* and *drinking of wine*, in the way commonly practiſed, is no more than it is declared to be, viz. *An outward* and *viſible ſign:* why, then, ſhould any contend about it, and render us unchriſtian, for diſuſing what themſelves allow to be but an *outward* and *viſible ſign?* and that none can reaſonably believe to be an *eſſential* part of religion, as is the bread from *heaven*; of which the *outward* is, at beſt, but a *ſignification:* but the wine that Chriſt promiſed to drink with his diſciples *a-new*, is ſuch an *eſſential*, that without it none have, nor can have *eternal life*, Mat. xxvi. 29. Mark xiv. 25. John vi. 41, 50, 51, 58, 63. Rev. iii. 20.

VII. Concerning the light of Chriſt.] Becauſe we aſſert the ſufficiency of the *light within*, it being the light of *Chriſt*, viz. That if men live up to the teachings thereof, in all manner of faithfulneſs and obedience, "they ſhall not abide in darkneſs, but have "the light of life and ſalvation, and the blood of "Chriſt ſhall cleanſe them from all ſin;" our adverſaries from thence conceive, that we undervalue the rule of holy ſcriptures, and *all* outward means, as having no need thereof, ſince we have ſuch a means and rule *within* us, and that this leaves us without any certain rule, and expoſes us to many blaſphemies, &c. whereas the light within (or Chriſt, by his light, inwardly teaching) was never taught by us in *oppoſition* to, or *contempt* of, any outward means, that God, in his wiſdom and providence, affords us for our edification and comfort, no more than did that bleſſed apoſtle, who

ſaid, "You need not that any man teach you, but as "the ſame anointing teacheth you all things, and is "truth, and is no lie," John xii. 46. 1 John i. 6, 7. 1 John i. 2, 27.

VIII. Concerning the Father, the Word, and the Spirit.] Becauſe we have been very cautious in expreſſing our faith concerning that great myſtery, eſpecially in ſuch ſchool terms and philoſophical diſtinctions as are *unſcriptural*, if not *unſound*, (the tendency whereof hath been to raiſe frivolous controverſies and animoſities amongſt men) we have, by thoſe that deſire to leſſen our Chriſtian reputation, been repreſented as deniers of the Trinity at large: whereas we ever believed, and as conſtantly maintained, the truth of that bleſſed (holy ſcripture) "three, that bear record in heaven, the Father, "the Word, and the Spirit, and that theſe three are "one;" the which we both ſincerely and reverently believe, according to 1 John v. 7. And this is *ſufficient* for us to believe and know, and hath a tendency to edification and holineſs; when the contrary centers only in imaginations and ſtrife, and perſecution, where it runs high, and to parties, as may be read in bloody characters in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories.

IX. Concerning works.] Becauſe we make evangelical obedience a condition to ſalvation, and works wrought in us by the Spirit to be an evidence of faith, and holineſs of life to be both neceſſary and rewardable; it hath been inſinuated againſt us, as if we hoped to be ſaved by our own *works*, and ſo make *them* the meritorious cauſe of our ſalvation, and conſequently popiſh.

Whereas we know, that it is not by works of righteouſneſs that *we* can do, but by his own *free grace* he is pleaſed to accept of us, through faith in, and obedience to, his bleſſed Son the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Heb. v. 9. and xii. 14.

X. Of Chriſt's being our example.] Becauſe, in ſome caſes, we have ſaid, the Lord Jeſus was our great ex-

ample, and that his obedience to his Father doth not excuſe *ours*; but as by keeping his commandments, he abode in his Father's love, ſo muſt we follow his example of obedience, to abide in *his* love; ſome have been ſo ignorant (or that which is worſe) as to venture to ſay for us, or in our name, that we believe our Lord Jeſus Chriſt was, in all things, *but* an example.

Whereas we confeſs him to be ſo much *more* than an example, that we believe him to be our moſt acceptable ſacrifice to God his Father; who, for his ſake, will look upon fallen man, that hath juſtly merited the wrath of God, upon his return by repentance, faith, and obedience, as if he had *never* ſinned at all, 1 John ii. 12. Rom. iii. 26. and x. 9, 10. Heb. v. 9.

XI. Concerning freedom from ſin.] Becauſe we have urged the neceſſity of a perfect freedom from ſin, and a thorough ſanctification in body, ſoul, and ſpirit, whilſt on this ſide the grave, by the operation of the holy and perfect Spirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, according to the teſtimony of holy ſcripture, we are made ſo preſumptuous, as to aſſert the *fulneſs* of all perfection and happineſs to be attainable in this life: whereas we are not only ſenſible of thoſe human infirmities that attend us, whilſt clothed with fleſh and blood; but know that here we can only "know in part, and ſee in part:" the perfection of wiſdom, glory, and happineſs, being reſerved for another and better world, John viii. 24, 25. Heb. xiii. 20, 21. and vi.

XII. Concerning worſhip to God.] Becauſe we ſay, with the apoſtle, that men ought to pray, preach, ſing, &c. with the ſpirit, and that without the preparation and aſſiſtance of it, no man can rightly worſhip God, (all worſhip without it being formal and carnal) from hence ignorance, or envy, ſuggeſts againſt us, that if God will not compel us by his Spirit, he muſt go without his worſhip: whereas nothing can be more abſurd, ſince *without* it "no man can truly call *Jeſus Lord*:" beſides, it is our duty to *wait* upon him, who hath promiſed,

miſed, not to compel, but fill them with renewings of ſtrength, that *ſo wait* upon him, by which they are made capable to worſhip him acceptably, be it in praying, preaching, or praiſing of God: and how warrantable our practice herein is from holy ſcripture, ſee Pſalm xxv. 5. xxxvii. 7. xxvii. 14. cxxx. 5, 6. Hoſea xii. 6.

XIII. Of God and Chriſt's being in man.] Becauſe we ſay, as do the holy ſcriptures, that God is light, and that Chriſt is light, and that God is in Chriſt, and that Chriſt, by his light, lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and dwelleth in them, and with them, that obey him in his inward and ſpiritual manifeſtations; people have been told by our adverſaries, that we believe every man has whole God, and whole Chriſt, in him, and conſequently ſo many Gods, and Chriſts, as men: whereas we aſſert nothing herein, but in the language of the Holy Ghoſt in the ſcriptures of truth; and mean no more by it, than that as God is in Chriſt, ſo Chriſt by his *Spirit* and *light*, dwelleth in the hearts of his *people*, to comfort and conſolate them; as he doth in *wicked men* to *reprove* and *condemn* them, as well as to *call*, *enlighten*, and *inſtruct* them, that out of that ſtate of condemnation they may come, and, by believing in him, may experience their hearts cured of the maladies ſin hath brought upon them, in order to complete ſalvation from ſin here, and from wrath to come hereafter, 2 Cor. v. 9. 1 John i. 5.

XIV. Of Chriſt's coming both in fleſh and Spirit,] Becauſe the tendency (generally ſpeaking) of our miniſtry, is to preſs people to the inward and ſpiritual appearance of Chriſt, by his ſpirit and grace in their hearts, to give them a true ſight and ſenſe of, and ſorrow for, ſin, to amendment of life, and practice of holineſs; and becauſe we have often oppoſed that doctrine of being actually *juſtified* by the merits of Chriſt, whilſt actual ſinners againſt God, by living in the pollutions of this wicked world; we are by our adverſaries

rendered ſuch, as either deny, or undervalue, the coming of Chriſt without us, and the force and efficacy of his death and ſufferings, as a propitiation for the ſins of the whole world.

Whereas we do, and hope we ever ſhall (as we always did) confeſs, to the glory of God the Father, and the honour of his dear and beloved Son, *That he*, to wit, *Jeſus Chriſt, took our nature upon him, was like us in all things, ſin excepted: that he was born of the virgin* Mary, *went about amongſt men doing good, and working many miracles: that he was betrayed by* Judas *into the hands of the chief prieſts*, &c. *that he ſuffered death under* Pontius Pilate, *the* Roman *governor, being crucified between two thieves, and was buried in the ſepulchre of* Joſeph *of* Arimathea: *roſe again the third day from the dead, and aſcended into heaven, and ſits at God's right hand, in the power and majeſty of his Father; and that by him, God the Father, will one day judge the whole world, both of quick and dead, according to their works.*

XV. Concerning the reſurrection.] Becauſe from the authority of holy ſcripture, as well as right reaſon, we deny the reſurrection of the *ſame groſs* and *corruptible* body, and are neither over-inquiſitive nor critical about *what* bodies we ſhall have at the reſurrection, leaving it to the Lord, to give us ſuch bodies as he pleaſes, (and with that we are well pleaſed and ſatisfied, and wiſh all others were ſo too); from hence we are made not only deniers of the reſurrection of *any* body *at all*, however ſpiritual, or glorified, but eternal rewards too.

Whereas, if it were true, as it is notoriouſly falſe, we were, indeed, of all men, moſt miſerable: but, bleſſed be God, it is ſo far from being true, that we moſt ſtedfaſtly believe, that as our Lord Jeſus Chriſt was raiſed from the dead, by the power of the Father, and was the *firſt-fruits* of the reſurrection, ſo every *man*, in his *own order*, ſhall ariſe; they that have done *well*, to the reſurrection of eternal life: but they that have done *evil*, to everlaſting condemnation.

And

And becauſe we are a people whoſe education hath not afforded us an *accuracy* of language, ſome paſſages may perhaps have been *miſ-expreſſed*, or improperly *worded* (as for inſtance, one of us hath denied, in his book, the ſoul to be *finite*: by which he plainly meant *mortal*, or *final*, to *die*, or have an *end*, which *finis* ſignifies, from whence *finite* comes); our uncharitable oppoſers have concluded, we hold the ſoul to be *infinite*, and conſequently *God*: whereas the words before and after, as well as the nature of the things, ſhews plainly, he *only* meant that it is *eternal*, and ſo not *finite*; that is, not *terminable*, or that which ſhall come to an *end*.

And alſo, becauſe we have not declared ourſelves, about matters of faith, in the many and *critical* words "that *man's* wiſdom teacheth," but in the words which the "*Holy Ghoſt* teacheth," we have been eſteemed either *ignorant*, or *equivocal*, and *unſound*: whereas it is really matter of conſcience to us, to deliver our belief in *ſuch* words as the Holy Spirit, in *ſcripture*, teacheth; and if we add *more* for illuſtration, it is from an experience of the work of the ſame Spirit in *ourſelves*; which ſeems to us the *trueſt* way of expounding ſcripture, in what concerns ſaving knowledge.

XVI. Concerning ſeparation.] Becauſe we are ſeparated from the publick communion and worſhip, it is too generally concluded, that we deny the doctrines received by the church, and conſequently introduce a new religion: whereas we differ *leaſt*, where we are thought to differ *moſt*: for, ſetting aſide ſome *ſchool terms*, we hold the *ſubſtance* of thoſe doctrines believed by the *church of England*, as to God, Chriſt, Spirit, ſcripture, repentance, ſanctification, remiſſion of ſin, holy living, and the reſurrection of the juſt and unjuſt to eternal rewards and puniſhments. But that wherein we differ *moſt*, is about *worſhip* and *converſation*, and the *inward qualification* of the *ſoul* by the work of God's Spirit thereon, in purſuance of theſe good and generally received doctrines. For it is the Spirit of God

only

only convinces and converts the ſoul, and makes thoſe that were *dead* in *treſpaſſes* and *ſins*, and in the luſts, pleaſures, and faſhions of this world, *alive* to *God*; that is, *ſenſible* of his mind and will, and of their duty to do them; and brings to know God, and his attributes, by the *power* of them upon their *own ſouls*; and leads to worſhip God rightly, which is in his *ſpirit*, and in *truth*, with hearts ſanctified by the truth; which is a living and acceptable worſhip, and ſtands in *power*, not formality, nor in the *traditions* and *preſcriptions* of *men*, in *ſynods* and *convocations*, but in the *holy ſpirit*. Firſt, in ſhewing us our real *wants*, and then in helping our *infirmities* with *ſighs* and *groans*, and ſometimes *words*, to pray for a ſuitable ſupply, for which we in our meetings *wait* upon God, to *quicken* and *prepare* us, that we may worſhip him *acceptably* and *profitably*, for they go together. Now, becauſe we are ſatisfied that all worſhip to God, and exhortations to men, as praying, praiſing, and preaching, and every other religious duty, ought to be ſpiritually performed; and finding ſo little of it among profeſſors of Chriſtianity, the ſpirit of God having not that rule and guidance of them, in their lives and worſhip, as it ought to have; and ſeeing them too generally ſatisfied with a miniſtry and worſhip of *man*'s making, being not qualified, nor led by God's ſpirit thereunto; we cannot find that comfort and edification our ſouls crave and want under ſo *cold* a miniſtry and worſhip. And for this cauſe, and no preſumptuous contempt, or ſelfiſh ſeparation, or worldly intereſts, are we, and ſtand we at this day, a ſeparate people from the publick communion; and in this we can comfortably appeal and recommend ourſelves to God, the great and laſt judge of the acts and deeds of the ſons of men.

Laſtly, Becauſe at the time of our friends firſt appearing in this age, there were a ſect of people newly ſprung up, and truly called *Ranters*, that were the *reverſe* to the *Quakers*, (for they feared and quaked at *nothing*, but made a mock at fearing of God, and at ſin, and at hell) who pretended that *love* made *fear* needleſs, and that nothing was *ſin*, but to them that

thought

thought it ſo; and that *none* ſhould be damned at laſt; whoſe extravagant practices exactly correſpond with their evil principles; from hence, ſome ignorantly, and too many maliciouſly, involved us and ours with *them*; and many of their exorbitances were thereby placed to our account, though without the leaſt reaſon, truth, or juſtice.

And becauſe ſome that were convinced of God's truth, afterwards diſhonoured their profeſſion, through their unfaithfulneſs to it; and that ſome, out of *weakneſs*, perhaps, may have improperly *worded* what they intended to ſay, the whole body of our friends have been made *criminal*, and the religion or principles we profeſs, have been condemned, and repreſented to the world as hereſy and blaſphemy; an uſage ſo unjuſt, that doubtleſs, according to *Lex Talionis*, our adverſaries would think it intolerable to be ſo treated by us.

But as we deſire not to render evil for evil, our *Great Biſhop* having taught us another leſſon, and better practices, ſo we deſire God Almighty to forgive our cauſeleſs enemies, for his Son's ſake, as we moſt freely and heartily forgive them: believing ſome may be zealouſly affected for their educational form of religion, and as zealous againſt *us* for our ſeparation; and we are the more inclined to judge ſo, becauſe many of us were once in the *ſame way*, and had ſuch thoughts of thoſe that were gone before us. But it hath pleaſed the Father of mercies to do by many of us as he did by *Saul*, that *zealous*, though *miſtaken*, perſecutor of the ſincere followers of Jeſus Chriſt, Acts ix. 3, 4, 5, 6. For as we heard an unuſual *inward*, but *powerful* voice, ſo we alſo had a more inward, clear, and diſtinguiſhing *ſight*, by the illumination of that *light* which was more than *natural*, and ſhined into our dark and ſinful hearts, 2 Cor. iv. 6, 7. letting us ſee them, as they *really* were in God's ſight; which naturally affected us with *deep ſorrow*, and *true humiliation*, making us willing to be any thing he would have us be, provided we might have *ſome* ſenſe

of

of his love and favour towards us. And bleſſed be his holy and excellent name, we can, without vanity, ſay, (generally ſpeaking) we were not diſobedient to that heavenly viſion, (Acts xxvi. 19.) we had of him, ourſelves, the world, and that profeſſion of religion, where we had our education. And ſince by that ſight God gave us, we ſaw he was pure and holy, and that without *holineſs* none ever could, or can ſee him, to their joy, and that we were unfit to approach his holy altar; yea, that the whole world lay in wickedneſs; and that profeſſion of religion, where we had our education, was ſo far from having the *power* of godlineſs, that, for the moſt part, it wanted the right *form*; from ſuch, therefore, we had a divine authority to "*turn* "*away*," 2 Tim. iii. 5. which we did, not in a *vaunting* mind, but with great *ſorrow*; wanting to know where the *Great Shepherd* of the ſheep fed his flock, Cant. i. 7. For we deſired to be *not* of thoſe that "turned aſide from the foot-ſteps of the flocks of the "companions." Nor was it affectation to popularity, ſingularity, or novelty, that induced us to a ſeparation; but a fervent deſire to know the Lord, and the work of his tranſlating power upon our ſouls, being in earneſt for heaven, though for it we loſt all our earthly enjoyments, Heb. xi. 14, 15, 16.

In this *ſolitary* and *ſeeking* ſtate, it pleaſed the Lord to meet with us, and gather us into *families*, or *religious ſocieties*, according to Pſalm lviii. 6. And though it hath been a *dear* ſeparation to us, conſidering it coſt us the loſs, at leaſt, of *all* things, and the great ſufferings and afflictions that have attended us in this deſpiſed way, which men have called *hereſy*; yet the Lord hath bleſſed us in it, with the enjoyment of his bleſſed preſence, to our unſpeakable joy and comfort.

To conclude; as it hath pleaſed the Lord to bleſs us, in the way we have hitherto been helped to walk in, with that great bleſſing which uſhered in the birth of our bleſſed Lord into the world, viz. "Glory to "God, peace on earth, and good-will to men;" ſo

we

we earneſtly deſire the ſame upon all our neighbours: for though we may not be all of *one mind* in ſome *doctrinal* parts of religion, we muſt, of neceſſity, be all of *one ſentiment* in the great and general duty of *holineſs*, or elſe we can never ſee God. And if that is our principal aim and endeavour, we ſhall leſs fall out by the way, about *words*, *forms*, and the *outſide* of things: but *univerſal charity*, (which is the *moſt* excellent way, and without which the beſt of *creeds* is but as a ſounding braſs, &c.) will ſilence controverſy, and blot out all ignominious characters; remembering that the Great Judge, at the laſt day, will determine us, not according to our *names*, but *natures*; not our *profeſſion*, but our *lives*; not our *bare belief*, (though of unqueſtionable *truths*) but *works*; for "God will bring every work to judgment, with every "ſecret thing, whether it be good or evil," Eccleſ. xii. 14.

A DEFENCE

A

DEFENCE

OF

A PAPER,

INTITLED

GOSPEL TRUTHS,

AGAINST

The Exceptions of the Biſhop of Cork's Teſtimony.

By WILLIAM PENN.

Publiſhed in the Year 1698.

A

DEFENCE

OF

A TRACT,

INTITLED

GOSPEL TRUTHS,

ADJUST

The Exceptions of the Bishop of Cork's

Testimony.

By WILLIAM PENN.

Published in the Year 1698.

THE PREFACE.

READER,

IT was the wiſe counſel of an ancient and grave prelate of the kingdom of Ireland, at a late viſit I made him there, to diſcourage controverſy, and endeavour to abate ſtrife among Chriſtians: 'For,' ſaid he, 'heaven is a quiet place; there are no quarrels there, 'and religion is an holy and peaceable thing, and excites to piety and charity, and not to genealogies, 'ſtrife, and debates.' But the biſhop of Cork ſeems to be of another mind, that could not paſs by ſo inoffenſive a paper, as that, ſtiled, "Goſpel Truths," (given him by me, in a private way, at a friendly viſit upon his own deſire) without his publick animadverſions; and thoſe expreſſed not with ſo much juſtice and charity, as might have been expected from him to his diſſenting neighbours.

I am, I confeſs, very ſorry my Chriſtian viſits to the biſhop have met with no better returns than controverſy: but becauſe that is his, and not my fault, it ſhall be my ſatisfaction.

I did, indeed, perceiving him converſant in our writings, and his character to be moderation, caſually preſent him with one of thoſe papers; but as the nature of it is far from provocation, ſo my deſign in it was purely to improve his temper, and not to excite his contradiction. Nor was it writ for an 'exact and complete 'account of our belief,' but occaſionally to prevent the prejudices that the attempts of a coarſe and ſcurrilous pen at Dublin, juſt before, might provoke in ſome againſt us, as to the points touched upon in the "Goſpel Truths." And though we have been ſo unhappy as to be therein miſtaken by the biſhop, yet it is ſome comfort to us, that our 'Chriſtian declaration'

hath had quite another reception with the generality of thoſe to whoſe hands it has come: and I heartily wiſh *that* hath not been the moſt prevailing motive to his undertaking. However, ſince he has been pleaſed to fault it both with ſhortneſs and error, the firſt of which we thought healing, at leaſt inoffenſive, I eſteem myſelf anſwerable for it, and ſhall, with God's aſſiſtance, defend it againſt the force of his exceptions, and, I hope, with clearneſs and temper: for though I may be plain, as he muſt expect, I deſire to be neither rude nor bitter.

I aſk, reader, but the common juſtice due to all authors, eſpecially in controverted points of religion, to wit, attention and impartiality; and then judge whether our pacifick paper deſerved ſo ſharp a cenſure, and the manner of its being given him, ſo publick a return: though I hope the conſequence will be good. To Almighty God I leave the ſucceſs, and am, in all Chriſtian obligation,

Thy real friend,

Briſtol, the 23d of the 7th month, 1698.

WILLIAM PENN.

[*The* PAPER was as follows.]

Sober Reader,

IF thou hadſt rather we ſhould be in the right than in the wrong; and if thou thinkeſt it but a reaſonable thing that we ſhould be heard before we are condemned, and that our belief ought to be taken from our *own* mouths, and not at theirs that have prejudged our cauſe; then we entreat thee to read and weigh the following brief account of thoſe things that are chiefly received and profeſſed among us, the people called Quakers, according to the teſtimony of the ſcriptures of truth, and the illumination of the Holy Ghoſt, which are the double and agreeing record of true religion: publiſhed to inform the moderate enquirer, and reclaim the prejudiced to a better temper; which God grant, to his glory, and their peace.

I. It is our belief, That GOD is, and that he is a rewarder of all them that fear him, with eternal rewards of happineſs; and that thoſe that fear him not, ſhall be turned into hell, Heb. xi. 16. Rev. xxii. 12. Rom. ii. 5, 6, 7, 8. Pſalm ix. 17.

II. That there are three that bear record in heaven; the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and theſe three are really one, 1 John v. 7.

III. That the word was made fleſh, and dwelt among men, and was, and is, the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth, his beloved Son, in whom he is well-pleaſed, and whom we are to hear in all things; who taſted death for every man, and died for ſin, that we might die to ſin, and by his power and Spirit be raiſed up to newneſs of life here, and to glory hereafter, John i. 14. Mat. iii. 17. Heb. ii. 9.

IV. That as we are only juſtified from the guilt of ſin, by Chriſt, the propitiation, and not by works of righteouſneſs that we have done; ſo there is an abſolute neceſſity that we receive and obey, to unfeigned repentance, and amendment of life, the holy Light and Spirit of Jeſus Chriſt, in order to obtain that remiſſion and juſtification from ſin: ſince no man can be juſtified by Chriſt, who walks not after the Spirit, but after the fleſh; for whom he ſanctifies, them he alſo juſtifies: and if we walk in the light, as he is light, his precious blood cleanſeth us from all ſin; as well from the pollution as guilt of ſin, Rom. iii. 22 to 26. chap. viii. 1, 2, 3, 4. 1 John v. 7.

V. That Chriſt is the great light of the world, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and is full of grace and truth, and giveth to all light for light, and grace for grace; and by his light and grace he inwardly appears to man, and teaches ſuch as will be taught by him, That denying ungodlineſs and worldly luſts, they ſhould live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this preſent world, John viii. 12. chap. i. 9, 14. Tit. ii. 11, 12.

VI. That this principle of light and grace, which is God's gift, through Chriſt, to man, is that which ſhews us our ſins, reproves us for them, and would lead all out of them, that obey it, to ſerve God, in fear and love, all their days. And they that turn not at the reproofs thereof, and will not repent, and live, and walk according to it, ſhall die in their ſins; and where Chriſt is gone, they ſhall never come; who is undefiled, and ſeparated from ſinners, Eph. v. 13. John xvi. 7. Prov. i. 20 to 24. John viii. 24.

VII. This is that principle by which God prepares the heart to worſhip him aright; and all the duties of religion, as praying, praiſing, and preaching, ought to be performed throughout the ſanctifying power and aſſiſtance of it; other worſhip being but formal and will-worſhip,

worſhip, with which we cannot, in conſcience, join, nor can we maintain or uphold it, Rom. viii. 26. 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11.

VIII. Worſhip, in this goſpel-day, is inward and ſpiritual: for God is a Spirit, as Chriſt teacheth, and he will now be worſhipped in Spirit and in truth, being moſt ſuitable to his divine nature. Wherefore we wait in our aſſemblies to feel God's Spirit to open and move upon our hearts, before we dare offer ſacrifice to the Lord, or preach to others the way of his kingdom: that we may preach in power as well as words, and as God promiſed, and Chriſt ordained, without money, and without price, John iv. 23, 24. 1 Theſ. i. 5. Iſa. lv. 1. Rev. xxii. 17. Mat. x. 8.

IX. This alſo leads us to deny all the vain cuſtoms and faſhions of the world, to avoid exceſs in all things, that our moderation may be ſeen of all men, becauſe the Lord is at hand to ſee and judge us, according to our deeds, Tit. ii. 12. Rom. xii. 2. Phil. iv. 5. Eccl. xii. 14. Mat. xvi. 27. Rom. ii. 6. Rev. xx. 12.

X. We believe the neceſſity of the one baptiſm of Chriſt, as well as of his one ſupper, which he promiſeth to eat with thoſe that open the door of their hearts to him, being the baptiſm and ſupper ſignified by the outward ſigns; which, though we diſuſe, we judge not thoſe that conſcientiouſly practiſe them, Mat. iii. 11. Eph. iv. 1. 1 Pet. iii. 21, 22. John vi. Rev. iii. 20.

XI. We honour government; for we believe it is an ordinance of God; and that we ought in all things to ſubmit, by doing or ſuffering; but eſteem it a great bleſſing, where the adminiſtration is a terror to evil-doers, and a praiſe to them that do well, Rom. xiii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

This hath all along been the general ſtream and tendency both of our miniſtry and writings, as our

books will make appear, notwithſtanding what ill-minded and prejudiced perſons may have ſtrained to miſrepreſent us, and our Chriſtian profeſſion.

Dublin, the 4th of the 3d month, 1698.

WILLIAM PENN,
ANTHONY SHARP,
THOMAS STORY,
GEORGE ROOK.

The TESTIMONY of the Biſhop of *Cork*, as to a Paper, intituled, "GOSPEL TRUTHS, held, "&c. by the people called QUAKERS," and delivered to him by an eminent member of them.

FRIENDS,

I AM ſuch a reader as in your paper you deſire. I have read, and ſoberly weighed, the account you give of thoſe things, which, you ſay, are chiefly received and profeſſed amongſt you. And I will exerciſe ſo much moderation and charity, as to lay a great weight on that word [*chiefly*] hoping theſe are not the *only* things, or *all* that you believe. I ſhould have been heartily glad to have found that you had been in the truth, as I am well aſſured I myſelf am: but, as I profeſſed, when the paper was given me, 'That if I took 'it, you muſt expect I ſhould bear my teſtimony touch-'ing it, or againſt it;' ſo I muſt now tell you, I think myſelf bound in conſcience to perform what I then profeſſed; and that upon more reaſons than I will now trouble the world with. You muſt not be offended if I ſay, You have ſuch a way of writing and ſpeaking, that it is very hard, in many matters of religion, to know what you mean. But, as far as I underſtand you, I will candidly acknowledge what truths you have ſufficiently or tolerably expreſſed; I will ſhew you with meekneſs, how far your faith, if this be your faith, comes ſhort of being ſufficient, or Chriſtian; and I

will

will ſincerely tell you what I apprehend to be the cauſe of your deluſion, and how dangerous a condition I really fear, nay, believe, you to be in.

And firſt, The only articles in which you have expreſſed a ſufficient Chriſtian belief, are your ſixth, which is, touching juſtification, and your laſt touching government, and your ſubmiſſion thereto. I wiſh you may always ſtick to this belief and practice; and I heartily rejoice to find you acknowledging the neceſſity of Chriſt, as a propitiation, in order to remiſſion of ſins, and juſtifying you, as ſinners, from guilt. It is the firſt time I have heard of it amongſt you.

As to all the reſt of your articles, I mean thoſe which I underſtand, I muſt tell you, the declaration of your faith comes ſo ſhort of what is required from people to denominate them Chriſtians, that except, under each article, you believe more than you have declared, you cannot be accounted Chriſtians. For firſt, in thoſe articles of faith which you have thought fit to mention, you have ſet down only ſome little ends, I had almoſt called them ſnaps of the article. And, ſecondly, Many more whole articles of the true Chriſtian faith, and which are of no leſs import, you have entirely omitted, waved, or ſuppreſſed.

You acknowledge in your firſt article, there is a God, and you own his providence as to the other life. But that he made heaven and earth, that he is the Almighty, and at preſent, by his ſovereign power, moſt wiſely and holily governs, orders, and ſuſtains all (by his mercies, as well as judgments, even in this world, not leaving himſelf without witneſs) you ſay not a word. Creation in the beginning, and providence as to this world at preſent, are not here acknowledged by you. We hope you believe both.

Your ſecond article is wholly true; for it is expreſs ſcripture, 1 John v. 7. But it is only what the apoſtle there had occaſion to ſay, and what was to his purpoſe, touching the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; far from being the ſum of what the holy ſcripture teaches of

them; and therefore is not a ſufficient confeſſion of faith on that head.

In your third article, you acknowledge, indeed, the Son of God to have been made fleſh, but neither conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, nor born of the virgin Mary; ſo that it does not appear, by this your confeſſion, but that he was at firſt an ordinary, corrupt, ſinful perſon: nay, you own him not ſo much as Jeſus, or the Chriſt (the great Saviour, who delivereth from the wrath which is to come; or the great prophet, prieſt, lord, and king of his church): you acknowledge him, indeed, to have died for ſin, but (not to mention the articles inferrable from, and relating to, the circumſtances of his death) you have not one word of his reſurrection from the dead, or of his aſcenſion into heaven; which, it may be proved, ſome of you have expreſly denied, ſaying, 'He is not aſcended into heaven; he is 'in us:' nor, again, of his ſitting now on the right-hand of the Majeſty on high. And ſo you ſeem not to own any thing of his mediation, interceſſion, or appearing now in heaven for us. Nor farther, have you ſaid a word of his coming again to judgment, at the end of the world. Thus, indeed, you have here neither owned the creation, or diſſolution, of the world; ſo that it does not appear, by this account of your faith, whether you do not judge it eternal, and ſo otherwiſe infinite. Yet again, not a word of one church, which it may be feared you ſtrike out of your belief, becauſe you are reſolved never more to return into the unity of the church, but to make and maintain a ſchiſm, or party, for ever. Nor farther, have you a word of the reſurrection of the dead, which divers of you have been known to deny, and others of you only ſay, 'It may be ſo.' And laſtly, though you acknowledge everlaſting rewards for them that fear God, yet nothing of the everlaſting puniſhment of wicked men. You mention hell, indeed (in a very unnatural place, viz. in your firſt article of the being of God); but whether you mean thereby the grave, as moſt commonly in ſcripture is meant; or, a place of temporal puniſhment after this life, as ſome have

have done; or, a ſtate of total deſtruction and annihilation, as many now a-days do, no one knows.

Upon the whole: as to the ſum of the Chriſtian faith, which you have been pleaſed to ſet down, there is not one article of our common twelve, that you have owned entirely; and eight at leaſt, if not more of them, that you have here totally ſuppreſſed, or waved. And how influential to an holy life thoſe which you have waved are, and therefore how neceſſary to ſalvation, I muſt require and conjure you, on your own eternal account, to conſider. I will only mind you of two paſſages out of the ſcriptures of truth, 1 Cor. xv. 16, 17. "If the dead "riſe not, (that is, if there be no reſurrection of the "fleſh, then is not Chriſt raiſed. And if Chriſt is not "raiſed, your faith is vain, you are yet in your ſins." Hence it appears all other points of faith are in vain, if this be not true. The other is, Rom. x. 9. "If "thou ſhalt confeſs with thy mouth the Lord Jeſus, "and ſhalt believe in thy heart that God hath raiſed "him from the dead, thou ſhalt be ſaved." This article alone is of ſuch force and influence on mens hearts, that if believed as it ſhould be, ſuch belief will ſave men. But both Chriſt's reſurrection, and our own, are by you, in this paper, left out of your faith. I judge you not, but judge yourſelves, leſt you be condemned of the Lord.

Your fifth, ſixth, and eighth articles, treat of what you call, 'The light of Chriſt within man:' this you have never been able yet, that I could find, to make out what you mean by. For you will not allow it to be either the natural, rational faculty, or common innate notions, or natural conſcience, or conſcience illuminated, by the preaching of the goſpel, and the operation of the Holy Ghoſt thereby: until you can make us underſtand your meaning, or indeed till you underſtand it yourſelves, (that is, till you are leſs confuſed in this, the very fundamental principle or rule of what you profeſs) you muſt not think of declaring (or publiſhing) an account of your faith: ſee you underſtand it firſt. There are ſome men who have a faculty to ſpeak

things

things ſeemingly profound, but, in the end, neither themſelves, nor others, can make any diſtinct ſenſe of what they have ſaid: this we uſually call banter. And I muſt acknowledge, as far as I can ſee, your diſcourſe of this light within is perfectly ſuch. Take notice, we, in our preaching, require people to *look within*, as much as you do: we ſtrictly charge all to walk according to the convictions and light they have received. We daily appeal unto conſcience: but then we teach, that conſcience (opened by the Holy Spirit, under the miniſtry of the word, Acts xvi. 14.) does, and muſt, take in its light from holy ſcripture; "The commandment of "the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes," Pſalm xix. 8. (viz. *of the mind*, Epheſ. i. 18.) "Thy word is as "a lamp to my feet, and a light to my paths," Pſalm cxix. cv. "To the law and to the teſtimony; if they" (even men in their conſciences) "ſpeak not according "to this word, it is becauſe there is NO LIGHT in "them," Iſa. viii. 20. Now theſe things are intelligible. This rule is fixed and certain, nothing of which can be ſaid of your light within.

In your eighth article you tell us, 'worſhip under 'the goſpel is inward and ſpiritual.' If you mean hereby, that all outward and bodily worſhip ought to be accompanied with an inward and ſpiritual worſhip, it is what we daily preach and practiſe, and even in private preſs. But if, as it would ſeem, you mean all the worſhip God now requires is from the inward man, or from the Spirit, this is abominably falſe: for our bodies are God's handy-work, and Chriſt's purchaſe, as well as our ſouls: on which reaſon, God, by his apoſtle, commands, "Glorify God in your body and in your ſpirit, "[ἅτινα] which (in the *plural* number, that is, *both which*) are God's." Not to tell you, that you yourſelves, now-a-days, perform ſomewhat of bodily worſhip. And indeed, if there be not a worſhip of the body, as well as of the ſpirit, there can be no publick worſhip. This article, therefore, muſt alſo be mended, to make it Chriſtian.

In

In your ninth article, you tell us of your 'denying 'all the vain cuſtoms and faſhions of the world, as 'alſo exceſs in all things.' I know no ſort of Chriſtians who teach otherwiſe; I wiſh I could ſay, I knew none (even of ourſelves) that practiſe otherwiſe. It is one part of the catechiſm we teach our children, to *renounce all theſe*. But there are many *innocent* and *laudable* cuſtoms which you call *vain*. Would it not almoſt make a man's ſtomach turn to hear one forbear, in point of conſcience, ſaying *you* to a ſingle perſon, becauſe it is improper; and at the ſame time, while he is ſpeaking to his ſuperior, becauſe *thou doſt* ſounds a little rudely, to ſoften the *thou*, and ſay *thee doeſt*, which is commonly your people's practice, and much more improper. Will you ever be able to prove the primitive Chriſtians uſed a dialect or dreſs different from others of their nation and qualities, and placed religion in it? Does not Chriſt require ſaluting even thoſe who ſalute not us? And no doubt his and his apoſtles ſalutations were in the common form. In a word, there is more vanity in ſingularity and affectation, than in a moderate following a common innocent phraſe, garb, or cuſtom.

In your tenth article you believe (you ſay) 'a ſpiri-'tual baptiſm, and a ſpiritual ſupper, and communion;' but acknowledge you 'diſuſe the outward ſigns,' by us, commonly called ſacraments: now did not Chriſt command *water*-baptiſm? "Go ye and baptize all nations," Mat. xxviii. 19, 20. The baptiſm here commanded, was *water*-baptiſm: for baptizing with the Spirit was GOD's work, not the apoſtles: and though the baptiſm of the Spirit commonly accompanied baptiſm with water, yet not always, as in the caſe of Simon Magus, and many others. Yet did not Chriſt promiſe "to be "with them (preaching to all nations, and baptizing) "to the end of the world?" Farther, Did not the apoſtles, in obedience to Chriſt's command, both conſtantly practiſe, and alſo require, water-baptiſm to all initiated Chriſtians? "Can any man forbid water, that "theſe ſhould not be baptized, which have received "the Holy Ghoſt as well as we?" And he [Peter] com-

commanded they ſhould be baptized: Acts x. 47, 48. Then as to the outward uſe of bread and wine for the Lord's ſupper, can any command be more expreſs than, "This do in remembrance of me?" Four times repeated in the New (which you call the better) Teſtament. To which St. Paul adds, "It is a ſhewing forth "the Lord's death until he come," 1 Cor. xi. 26. Now if Chriſt and his apoſtles have commanded this, who hath authorized you to diſuſe it? Remember what St. Paul tells the Corinthians, "he received from the "Lord that which *on this ſubject* he delivered to them," 1 Cor. xi. 23. And it is a ſevere paſſage in another epiſtle of his, Gal. i. 8. "If we, or an angel from "heaven, preach any other goſpel unto you, than that "which we have preached unto you, let him be ac-"curſed." That which lays aſide ſo much of the goſpel, and ſets up a new and variable rule of faith, (we know not what light within) is another and new goſpel.

To draw towards a concluſion: I have written this ſhort paper in much and true compaſſion to you: it had been far eaſier to me to have ſaid more, than thus to have confined myſelf: I look upon many of you as an harmleſs, well-meaning people, but under ſtrong deluſions.

This your deluded ſtate proceeds from your making what you call the light within you (which is, in many caſes, nothing but your own preſumptive perſuaſion or fancy) a rule of faith and practice, co-ordinate, if not ſuperior and antecedent, to the holy ſcriptures; theſe words in your paper ['which are the double and 'agreeing record of true religion'] intimate at leaſt thus much, that you will not believe what ſcripture ſaith, except the light within you dictate the ſame, and ſo make a double record. Now, my friends, do not flatter yourſelves, "GOD is not mocked;" you muſt anſwer at the dreadful day of judgment, amongſt other points, to ſuch as theſe; and therefore examine your conſciences before-hand.

1. Is

1. Is it not your main end and ſtudy, by pretended mortifications, and renouncing the world, (while there are no ſort of men alive that more eagerly purſue it, nor have more effectual, wily, and ſecret ways of getting wealth than yourſelves) Is it not, I ſay, your main aim and end to make yourſelves a party conſiderable; and ſuch to which, for reaſons of ſtate, peculiar privileges muſt be indulged?

2. Are not, to this purpoſe, many of your diſtinctive characters, ſuch as your different garb, (for it is plain, not a few of your people's clothes, as to materials, are more coſtly than many of ours) your way of ſpeaking, yea, even your looks and geſtures, aſſumed rather to make yourſelves remarkable, and at firſt ſight known from other people, than out of any perſuaſion, ſenſe of duty, or conſcience of obligation?

3. What reaſonable or tolerable warrant can you plead for waving, ſuppreſſing, at leaſt not confeſſing, much the greater part of the Chriſtian faith, and rejecting all outward poſitive parts of worſhip (eſpecially baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper) which have ſuch plain and repeated evidences in holy ſcripture. Your light within, (or ſenſe and perſuaſion which you ſay you have, and are ſure is from Chriſt) foraſmuch as, in the preſent caſes, it dictateth againſt holy ſcripture, can never be proved even to yourſelves, much leſs to others, to be from Chriſt: but muſt rather, in all reaſon, be reſolved to be one of the heights or depths of ſatan transforming himſelf into an angel of light. And for any perſons to yield to ſuch conduct, (beſides or againſt holy ſcripture) is plainly to abandon themſelves to the deluſions of the devil.

In a word, therefore, I again require you, as you will anſwer all your ſecret arts and high pretences at Chriſt's tribunal, that you either embrace and profeſs intire Chriſtian faith, in the points wherein I have ſhewn you to be defective; and that you receive the Chriſtian ſeals or badges, baptiſm and the Lord's-ſupper; or elſe that you deſiſt to lay claim to the name of Chriſtians.

It

It is not for me to judge you; but again I ſay unto you, (truly from God, as his miniſter) judge yourſelves. This is the caſe. If men who take away, even from the "faith once delivered to the ſaints," at leaſt two thirds, beſides many main points of the other third; who equal their own preſumptuous conceits to the divine oracles and revelations; who uſe and diſuſe at pleaſure, what parts of God's inſtituted worſhip they think fit, even the very badges of Chriſtianity (I will not here interpoſe your making gain your godlineſs;) but if the aforeſaid men are in a way of perdition, what can you conclude of yourſelves? In the name of God repent and return: and from my ſoul I pray, that God will pleaſe to give you repentance.

Cork, July the 2d 1698. EDWARD CORK *and* ROSS.

A DE-

A DEFENCE OF A PAPER, INTITULED GOSPEL TRUTHS.

Publiſhed in the Year 1698.

I HAVE given the biſhop's exceptions together at large, as he did our paper, and ſhall now conſider their validity.

He is pleaſed to ſay at the beginning of his firſt paragraph, 'He is ſuch a reader as in our paper we 'deſire:' words that gave me great hopes, of not only fair, but friendly dealing; and I heartily wiſh it had been ſo: but ſince it ſeems to me the reverſe of his promiſe, he muſt not take it ill from me, if I ſtop a while, and ſhew him a little to himſelf, and how much he is miſtaken in his own temper, as well as in our principles. For though he begins with the names of *moderation*, *charity*, and *meekneſs*, that is all: he quickly loſes ſight of them, and forgets them, with himſelf, almoſt all the way. And unleſs my taſte be extremely depraved, there is little reliſh of thoſe virtues in his management, or a tolerable temper ſhewn towards us, reſpecting either our belief or practice. We deſired *ſuch a reader*, indeed, as had rather we were in the

the *right* than in the wrong; one that did not *prejudge* our caſe, and would give *us* (and not our *enemies*) the *wording* of our own belief: while the biſhop but too plainly ſhews, he would not have us in the right, even where he dares not ſay (however freely he ſuggeſts it) that we are in the wrong. Which appears,

Firſt, By his *unneceſſary* exceptions to ſuch truths as we have declared in our paper (and he cannot deny) as *imperfectly* expreſſed, becauſe we have not ſaid all that *might* be ſaid, to branch them out, or illuſtrate them; though enough to be underſtood by ſuch as are not captious.

Secondly, By *ſuppoſitions incongruous*, and that can have no other ſervice than to *expoſe* us, and that in a very ill manner.

Thirdly, By rendering us to *deny*, what we do not *expreſs* in our paper: though indeed we *believe* it.

Fourthly, In not taking due notice of what is *implied*, as well as expreſſed: which had been but juſt.

Fifthly, In making the *worſt* of what is not concurrent with his belief; and not the beſt, where we believe the ſame thing.

Sixthly, By groſly miſrendering our pretences to *ſtrict living*.

Laſtly, By condemning us upon *rumour*. All which is more than leaning to *that ſide* that had rather we were in the *wrong*, than in the right; and conſequently not *ſuch* a reader as we deſired. That this is ſo, let it but be obſerved, how he *unchriſtians* us in his third paragraph; though immediately in a contradiction to what he juſt before acknowledges in his ſecond. Nor will he allow us to be ſo much as *Deiſts* in his fourth, or at moſt but very imperfect ones, becauſe we have not ſaid all of God that may be aſcribed to him. In his ſixth, he ſuppoſes us capable of believing that Chriſt came of *corrupt* and *ſinful fleſh*, becauſe we ſay no more, in that place, of the *manner* of his *incarnation*, than the *evangeliſt* doth, John i. 14. Alſo, that we are *defective*, at beſt *ambiguous*, about eternal

eternal rewards and punishments. He makes us, in his seventh paragraph, to *deny* the resurrection of the dead at large, and without *distinction*, though we there acknowledge a *future state*, which implies it; and have not said one word against it; but upon all occasions, in print, or otherwise, have expressed our belief of that branch of Christian doctrine, according to *scripture*. In his tenth, he derides our plain (though proper) language, of *thou* to a *single person*, though it is what he himself gives to *God* in his prayers. In his fourteenth and fifteenth, he is pleased to slight, and render our stricter living a *trick* to promote a *party*, and that our garb, looks, and gestures, are more to make ourselves *remarkable*, than out of any persuasion of *duty*, or *conscience*: as bad a construction as he could make. In his sixteenth, he tells us, 'The light within us, that we say we have from Christ, *is rather* 'one of the heights or depths of Satan transformed, 'and that we are abandoned to his delusions.' So that we, and most of our principles too, are stark naught with the bishop. In his eighteenth and last paragraph, he suggests, 'We take away two thirds of the Christian faith, besides many points of the other third; 'and equal our presumptuous conceits to the divine 'oracles, and revelations, and use, and disuse, at pleasure, what part of God's instituted worship we think 'fit; even the very *badges* of Christianity. I will not,' says the bishop, 'interpose (yet *suggests* it) your making *gain* your godliness: but if the aforesaid men are in a way to perdition, what can you conclude of 'yourselves? In the name of God repent and return.' Thus the bishop, upon a whole people, without any other provocation than has been expressed.

I hope, after this, he will not expect (I am sure he ought not) that any body should think him *such a reader* as we desired for our gospel-truths, and which he promised us to be; or that he has treated us with the *moderation*, *charity*, and *meekness*, he made us hope for; since none of our adversaries have used us much worse, in so little a compass. I heartily wish him a

better ſight of himſelf, as well as of us, that he may be leſs miſtaken in both another time; for I have a reſpect for him, and deſire not to be upon theſe terms with him, any longer than he thinks fit to make it neceſſary.

The reſt of his firſt paragraph is only a ſtrain of fair and paſtoral promiſes, forgotten by him, and not to be remembered any more, at this time by me; and therefore I ſhall proceed to his ſecond. Only obſerve this one thing to my reader, and the biſhop too, that he is pleaſed to place *moderation* and *charity* to our account, becauſe he does not take us by our word *chiefly* to mean ONLY or ALL, in reference to the things by us believed: which, under favour, he could not do in juſtice; and therefore he needs not bring us in debtor for that which is our due, ſince nobody ever took *chiefly* for *only*, any more than an *eldeſt* for an *only* ſon, or an *arch* for an *only* biſhop. Nor does *chiefly* imply *all*, any more than *only*; for whether it regards things human or divine, it imports the *beſt part* of any thing, but not *all*; the *moſt valuable*, that which deſerves and commands our regard and eſteem in the *firſt* place. And I leave it with my reader, Whether believing in *God*, and *Chriſt*, and the *Holy Spirit*; and believing the *ſcriptures*, and the *neceſſity* of *holineſs*, and *divine worſhip*, and finally of *eternal rewards* and *puniſhments*, are not points of faith *chiefly* to be received and profeſſed by Chriſtians? And if they are ſuch, the biſhop muſt have been ſuperfinely critical upon our word *chiefly*, as well as that he might have been a better huſband of his *moderation* and *charity*, and have kept them for an occaſion where they might have been more needed, and conſequently better beſtowed.

His ſecond paragraph allows us to have ſufficiently expreſſed our Chriſtian belief in two articles, but with this cenſure, 'that of eleven, we are only clear in theſe 'two, viz. juſtification by Chriſt, and ſubmiſſion to the 'civil government; wiſhing we may always ſtick to 'this belief, and practice;' and adds, 'I heartily re-'joice to find you acknowledge the neceſſity of Chriſt, 'as a propitiation, in order to the remiſſion of ſins, 'and

'and juſtifying you, as ſinners, from guilt. It is the 'firſt time I have heard of it among you.'

If ſo, it is the biſhop's fault, and ſeems to me next to impoſſible; ſince before that paper was given him, he was pleaſed to acknowledge he had read ſeveral of our books; particularly my "Riſe and Progreſs of the "People called Quakers," taking it out of his pocket at that time; alſo "Robert Barclay's apology," which ſtates, and vindicates our principles at large, in which the two doctrines afore-mentioned are very clearly declared, and maintained, notwithſtanding he ſeems to make this look like a *new diſcovery*. But, however, I am pleaſed that the biſhop is ſo, at *two* of the goſpel truths: I am of opinion, if he had well conſidered the force and comprehenſiveneſs of our belief concerning Chriſt, that pleaſes him ſo well, he might have ſaved himſelf the trouble of what he has publiſhed to the world upon the *reſt* of them: for whoever believes in Chriſt, as a *propitiation*, in order to *remiſſion* of *ſins*, and *juſtification* of ſinners from the *guilt* of ſin, can hardly diſbelieve any *fundamental* article of the Chriſtian religion; ſince every ſuch perſon muſt neceſſarily believe in *God*, becauſe it is with him alone man is to be juſtified. To be ſure he muſt believe in *Chriſt*, for that is the very propoſition. He muſt alſo believe in the *Holy Ghoſt*, becauſe he is the author of his conviction, repentance, and belief. He muſt believe *heaven*, and *hell*, *rewards*, and *puniſhment*, and conſequently the *reſurrection* of the *juſt* and *unjuſt*: for why ſhould he be concerned about being freed from the guilt of his ſin, if he were unaccountable in another world? So that acknowledging the neceſſity of Chriſt, as a *propitiation*, in order to the remiſſion of ſin, comprehends the main doctrine of the Chriſtian religion; and as ſo many lines drawn from the circumference to the center, they all meet and center in *Chriſt*: and indeed it is as the *navel* of Chriſtianity, and characteriſtick of that religion. I would intreat him again, to reflect well upon his own acknowledgment and commendation of our belief, concerning the *end* and *benefit* of Chriſt to mankind; and

he cannot think us ſo deficient, much leſs under ſuch ſtrong and dangerous deluſions, as he has been pleaſed to repreſent us.

His third paragraph will not ſuffer us to be Chriſtians, notwithſtanding what we have ſaid of our belief in Chriſt, in our paper called "Goſpel-Truths." In one ſenſe I ſhall eaſily agree with him, for I think nothing makes any man a *true* Chriſtian, but *regeneration*, the power of the Son of God revealed in the ſoul, converting it to God: for the *devils* believe, and tremble too, and yet are devils *ſtill*; they believe what is *true*, but they do not *truly believe* in *Him* that is *true*; they know and aſſent to the propoſitions of truth, or articles of faith; and knew *Him* to be *Chriſt* too, when he came of old, and called him by his *name*; but this did not make true Chriſtians *then* of them: nor yet does an *aſſent now*, to all the truths of the goſpel, *truly qualify* men Chriſtians, unleſs they feel the *power* of them upon their *hearts*. And I would have my reader reflect well upon this great and eſſential truth, though he were as big as a biſhop: for a *new creature* is the buſineſs; an *orthodox life*, the *croſs* of Chriſt, which is the *narrow way* of *ſelf-denial*. Yet I muſt ſay, that whoever declares he believes in Chriſt as his *Sacrifice* and *Sanctifier*, which is to ſave both from the guilt and pollution of ſin, is a *profeſſor* of *Chriſtianity*, and may reaſonably be allowed to be a *Chriſtian at large*. And that what we have declared, in our third, fourth, fifth, and ſixth Goſpel-Truth, comprehends the belief before-mentioned, my juſt and ſober reader may ſatisfy himſelf in the peruſal thereof.

His fourth paragraph faults our firſt article, as he is pleaſed to call it, with great 'Shortneſs and imperfection concerning our belief of God;' for though '(he ſays) we own his providence as to the other life, 'yet we ſay nothing as to the creation of this preſent 'world, and providence over it:' but, with the biſhop's leave, he that believes in *God*, believes in all that is neceſſary to a Supreme Being. It is what he, and all Chriſtians, take for granted, and allow, as often

ten as they hear any one ſay, *He believes in God.* For not to believe him omnipotent, omniſcient, and omnipreſent, is not to believe him to be *God*, theſe being inſeparable from the divine nature. I muſt appeal to the biſhop, whether a ſmall grain of charity would not have excuſed us from his reflection upon this head. We have ſaid *more* than *Moſes* ſaid to *Pharoah:* for beſides that, *I am*, is no more than *He is*; we have added that *He is* the *Rewarder of all men, according to their works.* We gave the text as it is, and the very text ſeems expreſſed for a declaration of faith in God, viz. "He, that will come to God, muſt believe that "he is, and that he is a Rewarder of them that ſeek "him." The text does not enumerate and require the belief of *all* the divine attributes and properties that are in God, but the bare belief of his *being*, and what he is to mankind that fear him. And whatever the biſhop ſays, this is enough for a man to come to God, though not enough, it ſeems, to come to the biſhop in the quality of a believer: he muſt help the Holy Ghoſt to ſpeak properly, or we, that ſpeak after him, muſt be *deficient* in our expreſſions, if not in our belief. But when any one affirms, that man was created by God, is he ſhort, fallacious, or equivocal, becauſe he does not ſay *how* God made man, or *what* he made him? Is not his *body*, *ſoul*, and *ſpirit*, his *will*, *underſtanding*, *memory*, and *affections* comprized, and meant, under that word *man?* Beſides, could the biſhop think, that while we own God's greater providence, his leſſer could be diſbelieved by us? He that has the alone power of *rewarding* men in the other world, according to their works in this, muſt certainly be the *Sovereign* of *both*; and his providence, in juſtice, is to be ſo underſtood. And as it is moſt certain that we believe of God all that the holy ſcriptures declare of him, and whatſoever is proper to that great and glorious Being; ſo, had we not thought it unneceſſary to be more particular, from the common notion all men have of the Deity, the biſhop could have had no room left for the exerciſe of his charity.

In his fifth paragraph, he blames us for being defective in our confeſſion of the *Holy Trinity*; though we give it in the very terms of the Holy Ghoſt, 1 John v. 7. If this is not a ſufficient text to prove the Trinity, that *antiquity* urges, and alſo *modern* writers of the *church* of *England*, to prove it, I know not where to find one, in the ſcripture.

It is generally believed the apoſtle John gave this declaration to the firſt Chriſtians, to *prevent* their being deluded by *Cerinthus*. How came the biſhop then to render it but a *by-paſſage*, and otherwiſe intended by the apoſtle, than for an *article* of *faith* about the *Trinity?* Is there a plainer, or a fuller, any where in the writings of the New Teſtament? *Three*, and yet *One*, is the doctrine of the Trinity: and no other apoſtle has gone ſo far, or been ſo expreſs: inſomuch that the text has been doubted, and rendered *apocryphal*, by ſuch as do not believe the common doctrine of the Trinity; and foiſted in to ſerve the turn of *Trinitarians*: ſo plain it has been thought to their purpoſe, even by the *Anti-Trinitarians*. How then is the text defective with the biſhop? But he ſays, 'The apoſtle 'writ it *upon occaſion*:' doubtleſs he did ſo. But what other occaſion, I pray, than that of the *Holy Trinity?* He adds, 'And it was to the apoſtle's purpoſe, touching the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt:' but what purpoſe could the apoſtle have, but that of declaring the *Trinity*, and yet *Unity?* What other uſe does he make of it? The biſhop muſt be very hard put to it, certainly, to ſhift off, and leſſen our confeſſion in this point, and, rather than fail, render the text itſelf ſhort; which, with ſubmiſſion, I think is a bold attempt in one of his ſtation, if he believes the thirty-nine articles.

The next and ſixth paragraph, relating to our third Goſpel-Truth, is large, and conſiſts of divers branches, and therefore I ſhall conſider them diſtinctly and apart. 'In the third article, you acknowledge indeed the Son 'of God to have been made fleſh, but neither con-'ceived by the Holy Ghoſt, nor born of the virgin Mary:

'Mary: ſo that it does not appear, by this your con-'feſſion, but that he was at firſt, an ordinary, cor-'rupt, and ſinful perſon.' I think it is hardly to be ſuppoſed that we could intend ſo groſs a thing, or that it is inferrable from the manner of our expreſſing of ourſelves, in reference to Chriſt's manifeſtation in the fleſh. Where enough is ſaid, to comprehend the reſt, all is *meant*, though all be not *expreſſed:* we call him the "Beloved Son of God, the Only Begotten "of the Father:" pray what is that ſhort of being *conceived by the Holy Ghoſt?* To be ſure, it is very far from a *corrupt* and *ſinful* perſon, a ſuppoſition as remote from what we ſaid, as from what the biſhop promiſed, viz. *charity*. He that confeſſes, "The Word "was made *fleſh*," confeſſes him made fleſh by *God*, and therefore made *holy* fleſh: for God never made any *corrupt* or *ſinful* fleſh. If the place is read, as ſome do, viz. "The Word *took* fleſh," the fleſh muſt be *holy*, for he would not take, or dwell in, *ſinful* fleſh.

And had the biſhop well remembered what he acknowledged, upon our believing Chriſt to be a propitiation for ſin, not many lines before, he could never have ſuggeſted ſo unreaſonable, as well as uncharitable a conceit; ſince *ſinful* fleſh, or a *corrupt perſon*, could never be any part of a *ſacrifice* for ſin: ſo that in commending that part of our belief, he has ſufficiently ſecured us againſt this part of his inſinuation.

But the biſhop proceeds to aggravate our ſhortneſs in expreſſion, to a ſevere imputation, viz. 'That we 'own him not ſo much as *Jeſus*, or the *Chriſt*.'

This muſt be a great overſight of the biſhop, not to ſay worſe, when the very fourth head, about "Juſ-"tification by Chriſt," of which he declares himſelf ſo well ſatisfied, *thrice* confeſſes him to be *Chriſt*, viz. in the firſt, third, and fourth lines. Again, we call him *Chriſt*, in the firſt line of the fifth Goſpel-Truth; likewiſe in the firſt and fourth lines of the ſixth, we call him *Chriſt:* we do the ſame, in the firſt and fifth lines of the eighth, and in the firſt line of our tenth Goſpel-Truth. How the biſhop came to miſs in ſo

palpable a point of fact, in the compaſs of one half ſide of a ſheet of paper, I cannot imagine, and am unwilling to cenſure. Nor would I willingly think the biſhop ſo trifling, as well as diſingenuous, as to excuſe himſelf herein, becauſe we do not call the Word, that took fleſh, by the name of *Chriſt*, in *that* place; ſince the biſhop repeats it from us, out of our aforeſaid fourth head, about "Juſtification by Chriſt," where we call him by the name of *Chriſt*, as may be ſeen in the ſecond and foregoing paragraph of his reflections. Beſides, we have not confeſſed his name leſs than *nine times* in that paper. But if the biſhop could yet inſiſt upon the word *Chriſt* not being in our third head, I ſay the *thing* is there, though the *word* be not. For what is Chriſt, but the "Word made "fleſh?" And who is the Word made fleſh, but *Jeſus Chriſt?* Again, who is the "Beloved Son of God, "and Only Begotten of the Father, full of grace, and "full of truth?" For theſe high and diſtinguiſhing characters are to be found in that very head of doctrine, where the biſhop will not have us to acknowledge him to be Chriſt. So that unleſs a corrupt and ſinful perſon can be full of *grace* and *truth*, I wonder how the biſhop came to ſuppoſe a thing, in our name, ſo very groſs.

But he proceeds in the ſame paragraph, 'You ac-'knowledge indeed he died for ſin, but you have not 'one word of his reſurrection from the dead, or of his 'aſcenſion into heaven, which it may be proved ſome 'of you have expreſsly denied, ſaying, 'He is not 'aſcended into heaven, He is in us;' with more to this effect. I ſhould be ſorry to tax the biſhop here of abſurdity and uncharitableneſs; but who can help it? For if Chriſt be not riſen, he is ſtill in his *grave*; he is no more. How, then, do we aſſert him to be a *propitiation*, and the *light* and *life* of his people? See Goſpel-Truth, 3, 4, 5, and 6. Can that which is *dead* ſanctify and juſtify believers? Can the *dead* give us grace and the Holy Spirit? Or have we not ſaid ſo of *Chriſt*, that *he* is the Giver thereof? And if we have

ſaid

ſaid ſo, muſt not the biſhop be extremely beſide the buſineſs? His uncharitableneſs is as obvious, I will not ſay his untruth; but I muſt pray him to reflect a little better upon what he has writ; for unleſs he would make us to mean the *grave*, when we ſay, 'That 'wicked men ſhall never come where *Chriſt* is gone,' Goſpel-Truth, 6. he muſt allow that we acknowledge Chriſt to be in *heaven*, and conſequently *aſcended*. What ſhall I ſay to his ſtory of ſome of our *friends*, whom he makes to affirm, 'That Chriſt is not aſcended 'into heaven; he is in us?' Can it touch *us*, or ſhould he have ſaid it, and not have *proved* it? Is that fair and candid? Is it charitable, ſuppoſing it were true, which does not appear? Or is it juſt to inſinuate it upon the people as *dubious*? But let it be never ſo true, it cannot conclude the *people*, if not the *act* of the people. The *church of England* has doctors of very different ſentiments; would the biſhop think it fair the common belief of the church ſhould *thereby* be concluded? It is true, and a great and comfortable truth, "That Chriſt is *in us*," according to 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Gal. ii. 16. Col. i. 26, 27. but not *confined* to man: he is not ſo *there*, as that he is no where elſe, and leaſt of all that he is not in *heaven*. For the apoſtle tells us, Eph. iv. 14. that "He aſcended far above "all heavens, that he might fill *all* things;" then he is in *man*, certainly. So that our aſſerting that doctrine of the 'Indwelling of Chriſt in man,' does not make void his being elſewhere, becauſe he is every where: though in heaven moſt gloriouſly, without doubt, being there "glorified with the glory that he "had with the Father before the world began." And they that *thus* believe in Chriſt, cannot deny his being at *God's right hand*, which ſignifies, according to ſcripture, Phil. ii. 9, 10, 11. the *higheſt exaltation*: nor yet to be their *Mediator*, for that is inſeparable from his being their *propitiation*. So that though we did not dwell upon points, but were conciſe in our expreſſions, yet whatever is *implied*, or is *implicable* from any aſſertion, juſtice, as well as charity, always grants; and ſo would

would the biſhop have done, had they been uppermoſt in his mind, when his pen ran ſo faſt againſt us. I muſt own it was not writ for criticks, but for ſuch readers as the biſhop ſays *he* was, or *ſhould* have been, to wit, who exerciſe *moderation* and *charity*; more of which, I hope he thinks as well as I, will do him no harm.

But it diſturbs the biſhop that we have ſaid nothing of 'Chriſt's coming to judgment, nor of the end of 'the world, whether it be diſſolvable, or eternal.' For the firſt, it is implied in our making all men accountable to God, for their deeds done in the body. For the other, it was not under our conſideration, being not objected to us. But they that ſay as much of Chriſtian doctrine as we have done in thoſe eleven heads of our paper, did never yet, that I have heard, believe the eternity of this world, Heb. i. 10, 11, 12.

Yet again ſays the biſhop, 'Not a word of one 'church, which it may be feared you ſtrike out of 'your belief, becauſe you are reſolved never more to 'return into the unity of the church, but to make and 'maintain a ſchiſm, or party, for ever.'

Theſe are very harſh conſtructions, beſides that they beg the queſtion, and in my opinion would have paſſed better from a perſon, whoſe office was leſs concerned in *charity*, than that of a biſhop: but why, pray, muſt *intereſt* and *obſtinacy* rule our diſſent? What is to be *got* by it? Profit and preferment go the *biſhop*'s way, I will not ſay he goes *theirs*. But why not *conſcience*, though it were miſtaken, ſince we have been all along of the *loſing* ſide? Which is not uſually eſpouſed by the men of *intereſt*, nor are men ordinarily obſtinate *againſt* their intereſt. Let us, at leaſt, be *honeſt* men, and allowed to *mean* well, though we were miſtaken. But *what* church, of the many churches in Europe, is the biſhop's *one* church, to which he would have us return? He has not told us. Methinks he that cenſures our ſhortneſs ſo much, ſhould not have been deficient himſelf in ſo material a point. So that if we are out of the way, we muſt be ſo ſtill

for

for all the *biſhop*; ſince we are yet to ſeek what church we *err* from, or ſhould *repair to*. But I will ſuppoſe he means his *own*, by which he excludes the Lutheran and Calviniſt, the Preſbyterian, Independent, and Baptiſt, as well as the people called Quakers, from being of his *one* church; to ſay nothing of the Roman Catholick or Greek churches. But unleſs the *one* church, as he phraſes it, (by which I underſtand him to intend the *true* one) may be of two *minds*, it will be difficult for him to recommend his own above the reſt, becauſe that is not only broken in *ſentiments*, but *practice* too, and which the biſhop knows is no longer a ſecret. I might mention the differences, warmly managed between the doctors of it, about *grace* and *free-will*; one taking the *Calviniſt*, the other the *Arminian* way; as they alſo do about the doctrine of *ſatisfaction* and *juſtification*. Likewiſe the late controverſy between two famous men of the church, about the *Trinity*, who are followed in their differing ſentiments by great numbers of the learned of the biſhop's *one* church: and for that reaſon (if no other) I cannot be ſo well ſatisfied of his exact correſpondence with *all* the articles of that church *himſelf*. And I hope I am not beſide the buſineſs, when I ſay, it would very well have become the biſhop to have told us what it is he would *have* us believe, when he found ſo much fault with what that paper ſays we *do* believe. It would be too long, and perhaps he might think it beſide the buſineſs, at leaſt the brevity the caſe requires, to give him the reaſons of our *ſeparation* and *diſſent*, or *diſagreement* with the *church*. I put theſe words together, becauſe ſome were never members of it, and ſo they could not properly be ſaid to *ſeparate* from it; but true it is, we may all be ſaid to *diſſent*, or *diſagree*; and I would think the biſhop ſhould not be much to ſeek for the reaſons of it. And yet where we are vulgarly apprehended to differ *moſt*, we diſſent *leaſt*, I mean in *doctrine*; which is the reaſon ſo many have upon occaſion ſaid, as indeed did the biſhop, at the viſit I made him; viz. 'Why we believe the *ſame*, it is what we

'preach

'preach as well as *you*.' For except it be the *wording* of ſome of the articles of faith in *ſchool-terms*, there are very few of them profeſſed by the church of England, to which we do not heartily aſſent. And this I have expreſſed for myſelf, and in behalf of my friends, in my "*Key*," and "*Primitive Chriſtianity* "*Revived*." But of this, and the more material reaſons of our diſtance from the church, I may have occaſion to expreſs myſelf at the cloſure of this vindication.

But the biſhop proceeds, in his ſixth paragraph, 'Nor have you a word of the reſurrection of the body, 'which divers of you have been known to deny, and 'others of you only ſay, It may be ſo.' I ſhall conſider this, immediately upon the *next* paragraph, where he treats upon the ſame ſubject, and apply myſelf to his concluſion of *this*: 'Laſtly, though you acknowledge everlaſting rewards for them that fear God, yet 'nothing of the everlaſting puniſhment of wicked 'men.' I think we *do*, and that the biſhop aggravates his diſingenuity to us upon this head: for the words of the paper are theſe, 'It is our belief that 'God is, and that he is a Rewarder of all them that 'fear him with eternal rewards of happineſs; and that 'thoſe that fear him not, ſhall be turned into hell.' The ſcriptures are, Heb. xi. 6. Rev. xxii. 12. Rom. ii. 5, 6, 7, 8. Pſalm ix. 17. Now though *eternal* is not joined to *hell*, yet juſtice, as well as candour, would have underſtood it ſo, and to mean the hell of the damned, the puniſhment of evil-doers after this life, according to the ancient common belief. But the biſhop, that ſeldom fails to make the *worſt* of every thing for us, thus comments upon our words: 'You mention hell indeed, but whether you mean 'thereby the grave, as commonly in ſcripture is 'meant, or a place of temporal puniſhment after this 'life, as ſome have done, or a ſtate of total deſtruc-'tion and annihilation, as many now a-days do, no 'one knows.' But, with the biſhop's leave, what if we mean *none* of theſe, may we not be in the *right*, for all

all that? For what if none of theſe are the ancient, common, and ſcripture belief, what will the biſhop do then? Since one would think that one of them is the *biſhop*'s hell, becauſe he gives us, and his reader, no more room for our meaning, or any *other* belief of a hell. And either one of theſe is an article of his belief, or elſe he keeps the *true* hell to himſelf, and was not ſo juſt as to include that in the queſtion with the reſt, leſt he ſhould be thereby guilty of ſuppoſing us capable of meaning the *true* one in our Goſpel-Truths, viz. "The worm that never dies, the fire that never "goes out, where is weeping and gnaſhing of teeth "for ever." See 2 Theſſ. i. 9. Jude vi. 7. And which, I think, is none of the three the biſhop mentions. However, he abundantly ſhews his inclination to repreſent us rather wrong than right, in our belief: for if the ſcriptures by us cited are conſulted, they plainly ſhew we never meant the *grave*, and that they equally refer to the future ſtate of the ſouls of men; viz. 'That all ſhall receive the recompence of their 'works, and the rewards of their deeds, according to 'the nature and quality of them.' And if the rewards of the righteous are eternal, then ſo muſt thoſe of the wicked be, or both muſt be temporary: for the Holy Ghoſt makes no difference as to the duration of the one more than of the other. One grain of a truly Chriſtian temper, had ſaved the biſhop, and he me, the trouble of this, as well as other reflections.

I am come now to his ſeventh paragraph, the firſt part of which is a heavy complaint of our ſhortneſs and deficiency in expreſſing ourſelves. We, it ſeems, are too *general* in ſome points, and wave in others, he is pleaſed to ſay, 'Eight of twelve,' but inſtances only in that of the *reſurrection*; though he conjures us at the ſame time, upon our eternal account, to conſider what he ſays. Now if being general, and keeping to the terms of ſcripture, be a fault, we are like to be *more* vile with the biſhop: for, thanks be to God, *that only* is our *creed*; and with good reaſon too: ſince it is fit THAT ſhould only *conclude* and be the *creed* of *Chriſtians*,

Chriſtians, which the Holy Ghoſt could only *propoſe* and *require* us to believe. For if the *comment* is made the creed inſtead of the *text*, from that time we believe not in God, but in *man*. I heartily wiſh none had been wiſe above what is *written*, and that generals had concluded Chriſtians; then charity had been better maintained, and piety promoted: whereas *ſtrains* or *refinements* upon the text, have thrown us into thoſe labyrinths of controverſy, that the zeal which ſhould have been employed to ſuppreſs *ſin* in all its branches, has too generally been uſed to fire one party upon another, till practice, which is *religion indeed*, was blown up by the generality. So much for our 'ſhortneſs, or 'wavering,' as the biſhop calls it.

I ſhall now attend his only neceſſary point of eight, that he thought fit to mention, which, he ſays, we either ſuppreſs, or wave, viz. 'The reſurrection of the 'dead:' I confeſs I did not think that any body would have been ſo uncharitable to us, after our acknowledging the *future ſtate* of the juſt and unjuſt, ſince that implies it, and every medium to it. However, I will attend what the biſhop urges for proof of what we do not *deny*, but always muſt the ſlander of doing ſo. 'I 'will (ſays he) only mind you of two paſſages out of 'the ſcriptures of truth, 1 Cor. xv. 16, 17. "If the "dead riſe not, your faith is vain, you are yet in your "ſins." 'Hence it appears (ſays the biſhop) all other 'points of faith are in vain, if this be not true.' And ſo ſay I, as well as the biſhop, and ſhall always ſay as he ſays, while he ſays no more than the *text* ſays: for who can think that allows himſelf to think, that we ſhould not believe an immortality, who have expoſed ourſelves, and ſuffered ſo much, that we may obtain an *happy* one. But the queſtion is not whether the dead *riſe*, but 'with 'what *bodies*?' For if the dead riſe not, then may we ſay with the apoſtle, verſe 19, in the ſame chapter, "We "are of all men moſt miſerable." So that the reſurrection of the dead is out of all diſpute with us: but with *what body*, will, I believe, be one, *till* the dead riſe.

Here

Here it is we are cautious, and tread ſoftly; remembering what the apoſtle ſays to the curious and inquiſitive upon this head, ver. 35, 36, 37, 38. "But "ſome man will ſay, How are the dead raiſed up, and "with what bodies do they come? Thou fool, thou "ſoweſt not that body which ſhall be, but bare grain. "—But God giveth it a body as it hath pleaſed him, "and to every ſeed its own body." Here is the ground of our caution, which the biſhop is pleaſed to call *ſuppreſſion*, and others *denying* of the reſurrection. We have, indeed, been *negative* to the groſs conceit of people concerning the riſing of *this carnal* body we carry about with us, which better agrees with the alcoran of Mahomet, than the goſpel of Chriſt: but, that there is a reſurrection of the juſt and unjuſt to rewards and puniſhments, we have ever believed. And, indeed, we cannot but wonder that any ſhould be diſpleaſed with us, for being pleaſed with *that* which God is pleaſed to *give* us. *Bodies* we ſhall have, but not the *ſame*, ſays the apoſtle, and ſo believes the Quaker; "but God "giveth every one a body as pleaſeth *him*," and that pleaſeth *us*, whoever it diſpleaſeth: for we had rather be called fools *ten* times by the *biſhop*, than *once* by the *apoſtle*, which we think we ſhould deſerve, if we ſhould dare to ſtretch the text, or preſume to define the ſecret.

The other ſcripture urged by the biſhop, in defence of what we never oppoſed, is, Rom. x. 9. "If thou ſhalt "confeſs with thy mouth the Lord Jeſus, and believe "in thine heart, that God hath raiſed him from the dead, "thou ſhalt be ſaved." He adds, 'thoſe who believe 'this as they ſhould do, ſhall be ſaved.' But, 'that 'we have left out both Chriſt's reſurrection, and our 'own, in our faith.' In the firſt part of his note, I agree with him, that all who *rightly* believe the text, will be ſaved: for that muſt be by the illumination and working of the ſaving power of Chriſt in the heart, that he *can* ſo believe. But that we have left out Chriſt's reſurrection and our own, is a miſtake already obſerved, becauſe they are both plainly implied; one in our belief

of

of Chriſt's being a propitiation for ſin, and the light, life, and ſtrength of his people, and in giving us his grace and Holy Spirit, which that which is dead *cannot* do: and our own reſurrection is ſufficiently ſecured, in our declared belief of rewards and puniſhments, though the mode of it be not expreſſed: nor was there any reaſon for ſaying more upon that head, with reſpect to the occaſion of our paper's being publiſhed.

I am now come to the biſhop's eighth paragraph, which comprehends his exceptions to three of our *goſpel-truths*, viz. the 5th, 6th, and 7th, which wholly relate to the doctrine of the *light* of *Chriſt within man*. And I am truly ſorry to find the biſhop at ſo great a loſs, as that paragraph ſhews him, about ſo excellent and evident a principle; and which ſo very much concerns him, and indeed all men, to know. And that my reader may inform himſelf thoroughly in this matter, I muſt deſire him to look back, and read thoſe three Goſpel-Truths, and compare them with the biſhop's eighth paragraph, and he will make himſelf a much better judge of the validity of the biſhop's anſwer, and my reply, and which of us two keeps cloſeſt to the doctrine and language of the holy ſcriptures, that he in the ſame paragraph ſeems ſo much to reſpect.

His firſt exception in this paragraph, is at our incapacity: for he ſays, 'We have never been able yet, 'that he could find, to make out what we mean by the 'light of Chriſt within.' Perhaps the biſhop has never ſought, or has ſought amiſs; which as great and learned men as himſelf have done before now, and ſo miſſed what they have ſought for: and then it cannot be a wonder, that he has not found out what we mean by the light of Chriſt in man. But that a biſhop ſhould repreſent this an unintelligible doctrine, after reading ſo diſtinct and plain an account of it in "Robert Barclay's Apology," not to mention divers other books, and, which is of greater authority, the *ſcriptures of truth*, is no ordinary ſurprize to me. Has the biſhop forgot the Firſt of John, and the 4th, 9th, and 16th verſes,

verſes, where ſpeaking of the Word-God, he ſays, "In him was life, and the life was the *light* of men."

This is that light of Chriſt the Quakers aſſert, and deſire to turn the minds of all people to: for all muſt *have* it, if it be the *light* of all, as the text plainly tells us it is. The ninth verſe is yet more expreſs, viz. "That was the true light which lighteth every man "that cometh into the world;" than which, nothing can be more expreſſed to our purpoſe. And thatt he biſhop ſhould feel no ſhare in this glorious light of men, renders him very unfit, methinks, for an overſeer of them.

I know ſome read this text otherwiſe, as indeed he did to me in Cork, viz. "That was the true light, *that coming* into the world lighteth all men;" referring the word *coming* to Chriſt, and not to man. But all the verſions I ever met with, and I have ſeen more than twenty, render the verſe as it is in our *Engliſh* tranſlations: and all criticks and commentators, except the followers of *Socinus*, read and render it as *we* do. And while we have ſo much company, and ſo great authority, I think we need not be ſolicitous about the ſucceſs of this point. But beſides that the foregoing verſe tells us, that the *divine life* of the WORD-GOD, is the *light* of *men*, which ſhews all mankind have it *in* them (for it is the light of their *minds*, and not of their bodies) it is impoſſible that interpretation ſhould be true in a ſtrict ſenſe: for the coming of Chriſt in that bleſſed manifeſtation, was to the *Jews* only: he ſays it himſelf, "He was not ſent but to the loſt ſheep of the houſe of "*Iſrael*," Mat. xiii. 24. Again, "He came unto his "own, and his own received him not," John i. 11. And within that narrow compaſs he could not be ſaid to be the light of all mankind that *had*, *did*, and *ſhould* come into the world; for ſo both the 4th and 9th verſe plainly import, viz. 'The light of mankind, without 'reſtriction to this or that manifeſtation of God to 'men.'

But the biſhop is ſtill at a loſs what to make of this light, and what we would be at; 'For, ſays he, 'you

'will not allow it to be either the natural rational faculty, or common innate notions, or natural conscience, or conscience illuminated by the preaching of the gospel, and the operation of the Holy Ghost thereby.' We say, we would have it to be what the scriptures say it to be, viz. the light of *Christ*, the Son of God, who called himself, John viii. 12. "the light "of the *world*;" and if so, then *every* man's light; the light of *every* mind and understanding, and consequently the light of Christ within; too hard it seems, for the bishop to comprehend, and yet so very easy for the meanest capacity, that observes the discoveries and convictions of it in their own hearts.

But since it is, as he rightly terms it, a fundamental with us, we will follow the bishop, in his enquiries, a little farther. We say first then, It is not the natural rational faculty of man; for then it would be *man*, or a part of his *composition*, merely as man: but that it is not, but a *manifestation*, in the soul of man, of *Christ*, "the word of God, the light of the world, the "second Adam, the Lord from heaven, the quicken-"ing Spirit, who was full of grace and truth, and of "whom man hath received grace for grace:" to wit, a talent, a proportion suitable to his want and capacity, to convince and convert him, to renew and restore him from his great lapse unto God, his blessed Maker, again. In short, our natural rational faculty is our *sight*, but not our *light*: that, by which we discern and judge what the divine light shews us, viz, *good* from *evil*, and *error* from *truth*. But as the *eye* of the body is the sensible faculty of seeing external objects, through the discovery that an external light (as the *sun* in the firmament) makes to the eye, but is not *that light itself*; so does the rational faculty of the soul see spiritual or immaterial objects, through the illumination of the light of *Christ within*, but is by no means *that light itself*, any more than the *eye* is the *sun*, or *John* the *Baptist* was our blessed Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, that was but servant and fore-runner of his blessed manifestation in the flesh.'

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As for the biſhop's *innate notions* and *natural conſcience*, if by them he means impreſſions, or principles, which are born and come with us into the world, viz. "the "law of God in the heart of man," I muſt tell him, firſt, that this is not the language of the law and teſtimony he refers us to in the ſame paragraph: and next, that as the *work* is not the *workman*, ſo they are not properly the *light* of *Chriſt*, but the bleſſed fruit and effect of the light of Chriſt, the Word-God, in man, which ſhines in the heart, and gives him the knowledge of God, and of his duty to him. So that the innate notions, or inward knowledge we have of God, is *from* this true light that lighteth every man coming into the world, but is not *that light itſelf*. Juſt ſo the biſhop's natural conſcience, muſt only mean a *capacity* that man has by nature, that is, in his creation, of making a judgment of himſelf, his duty, and actions, according to the judgment of God manifeſted to him by the *light* of *Chriſt within*. Not that ſuch a capacity is that *light*, but that it ſees, or underſtands, by the inſhining of the divine light, the things that belong to man's duty and peace.

Nor is it, 'Conſcience *illuminated* by the preaching 'of the goſpel, and the operation of the Holy Ghoſt 'thereon,' which is the laſt of the biſhop's conſtructions; but *that very* PRINCIPLE of *life* and *light*, which *illuminates* the conſcience, and was the very ſpring and force of the apoſtolical miniſtry, and of the conviction and converſion of their hearers; and which opened their hearts to receive the goſpel when preached unto them. In ſhort, this excellent principle is *in* man, but not *of* man, but of *God*. The nature of it is to diſcover ſin, reprove for it, and lead out of it, all ſuch as love and obey the convictions thereof. It is a principle of divine life, that quickens the obedient heart to newneſs of life: it raiſes the mind above the world to God; and ſearches out and reveals the deep things of God to the humble and waiting ſoul. And be it known to the biſhop, and all that with him profeſs ignorance about what we mean by the light of Chriſt within man, this is

it I have been treating of; and I have writ, I bleſs Almighty God, my own experience, the taſte and reliſh I have had of its excellency and ſufficiency, in the courſe of the far greater and beſt part of my life.

But the biſhop muſt excuſe me, if I ſay, I cannot but take it very ill at his hands, to forbid us, in his following words, 'to pretend to give an account of 'what we believe, unleſs we can make him underſtand 'our meaning:' and becauſe he does not penetrate our ſenſe, to call our way of wording that bleſſed principle of the light of Chriſt in man, a *perfect banter*. This, to me, is one of the ſevereſt perſecutions; becauſe *ſpiritual* things are only to be *ſpiritually* diſcerned and underſtood. I would fain know how a regenerate man can poſſibly make a carnal man underſtand the *new-birth?* It is, certainly, the gift of God to underſtand divine truths, as well as rightly to believe. So that ſuppoſing our aſſertion of the nature, power, and excellency of the light of Chriſt in man to be *true*, not to have leave to *ſay* ſo, unleſs we could make every man rightly take our ſenſe and meaning, whether he be *ſpiritually diſcerning* or *not*, looks antichriſtian, as well as unreaſonable. "We ſpeak wiſdom," ſays the apoſtle, "among them that are perfect," 1 Cor. vii. 6. It ſeems, others underſtood him *not*; muſt he therefore not have *wrote* of the things of God? The very preaching of the goſpel was fooliſhneſs to the wiſelings of the *Jews* and *Greeks*; they could make neither head nor tail of it, by *their* way of judging of truth: muſt not the goſpel therefore be *preached?* When the apoſtle Paul preached to the Athenians, ſome of the men of the gown, the philoſophers of that time, oppoſed and deſpiſed him, ſaying, "What will this babbler ſay?" But had they known what he *meant*, we cannot think they would have *ſaid ſo* to him. Was the *apoſtle* then, or the *Athenians* in fault, that they did not underſtand him? Or, was it *bantering*, as well as *babbling*, becauſe he did not make them underſtand his meaning; which is only the work of the Holy Ghoſt to do? Who was it, I pray, that ſaid, "The world by wiſdom knew not God?" And

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can we ſuppoſe any thing elſe blinded the Scribes and Phariſees, and the high-prieſt of the Jews, from diſcerning the *Meſſiah* when he came? For they wanted not *academical learning*, if that could have enlightened them; nor yet the *ſcriptures*; but they reſiſted the *Holy Ghoſt*, their ONLY TRUE INTERPRETER, and ſo ſtumbled and fell. Let the biſhop alſo have a care.

In the ſecond chapter of the Firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, he will find that the apoſtle ſpake the wiſdom of God in a *myſtery*, "which the princes of the "world knew not," with all their wiſdom: "For the "things of God," ſays the apoſtle, "knoweth no man, "but the Spirit of God;" by which thoſe Chriſtians knew thoſe things that were freely given to them of *God*. "Which things alſo we ſpeak," ſays he, "not "in the words which man's wiſdom teacheth, but "which the Holy Ghoſt teacheth, comparing ſpiritual "things with ſpiritual. But the natural man receiveth "not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are "fooliſhneſs unto him: neither can he know them, "becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned." Now, according to the biſhop's treatment of us, the apoſtle ought not to have *writ* of faith and ſalvation, unleſs he could have made all that read his writings *underſtand* his meaning. And it muſt be a *perfect banter*, to talk of ſpeaking wiſdom in a *myſtery*, and not in the terms that *man*'s wiſdom teacheth.

But the Lord Jeſus Chriſt was of another mind, when he ſaid, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and "earth, becauſe thou haſt *hid* theſe things (the truths "of the kingdom) from the wiſe and prudent, and re-"vealed them unto babes: even ſo, Father, for ſo it "ſeemed good in thy ſight." It is hence, beyond all diſpute, that God *hideth* the myſteries of his kingdom from the *wiſdom* of *man*, while *ſimplicity* and *ſincerity* fail not to *reach* and *underſtand* them. Here it was that poor Nicodemus was abſolutely at a loſs for Chriſt's meaning, when Chriſt ſaid, "Unleſs a man be born "again, he can in no-wiſe enter into the kingdom of "God," John iii. inſomuch as he aſked Chriſt, upon

his diſcourſe of the new birth, "How can theſe things "be?" At which Chriſt ſeems to admire, in a ſort of reproof upon Nicodemus, "Art thou a maſter of Iſrael, "and knoweſt not theſe things?" As much as to ſay, 'Art *thou*, a man of *thy* ſtation in the church of God, '*ignorant* in the way to heaven?' Whoever reads that notable interview between Chriſt and Nicodemus, will find that Chriſt reſolves the matter into *two births*, that which is born of the *fleſh*, and that which is born of the *ſpirit*, and theſe are contrary: and therefore no wonder if they differ in their underſtanding of the holy ſcriptures, being a declaration of the *faith* and *experience*, as well as *doctrine* and *practice*, of the ſervants of God, that were enlightened and born of the Holy Ghoſt. Nor is this all; for "they that are born of the fleſh, "perſecute them that are born after the ſpirit:" So that when they can no longer commit violence upon their perſons and eſtates, they will perſecute them with their *tongues* and *pens:* they are hereticks, blaſphemers, illiterate, and ignorant, yet preſumptuous; enemies to Cæſar, and diſobedient to government, if they will not give God's due unto man, viz. *conſcience*. And if they chuſe to deliver themſelves in *ſcripture* ſtile, and ſpeak earneſtly of the neceſſity of the work of the *Spirit* of God, in order to an *experimental* and *ſaving* knowledge of the truth, declared in holy ſcripture; and that *Chriſt's miniſters* are made by the *Holy Ghoſt*, and not by human learning; and that the worſhip which is acceptable to God, muſt be in the *ſpirit* and in the *truth*; that is, with *clean hearts* and *right ſpirits*, kindled and inflamed with the *Holy Spirit* of *God*; they muſt be called enthuſiaſts, unintelligible, men of cant and banter. And here I leave the biſhop, upon this paragraph, deſiring him to conſider, whether his knowledge of God the Father, and Jeſus Chriſt, "whom rightly to know, is life eternal," John xvii. be by the *revelation* of the Son of God in his own ſoul; ſince Chriſt himſelf teacheth and affirmeth, that "no "man knows the Father but the Son, and he to whom "the Son *reveals* him:" I ſhould be glad to ſee the

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biſhop's evidence for this knowledge. For in the concluſion of this paragraph, he turns us to the *ſcriptures*, who, in the beginning of it, makes us *unintelligible*, and *banterers* in religion, for expreſſing ours in the *terms* of it; which may well merit the biſhop's ſerious reflection.

His ninth paragraph refers to our eighth article, as he calls it, of which he cites theſe eight words only, "Worſhip, under the goſpel, is inward and ſpiritual;" upon which, he ſays, 'If you mean, that outward 'worſhip ought to be performed with inward and ſpiritual worſhip, it is what we preach, preſs, and practiſe; but if (as it would ſeem) you mean that all 'the worſhip God now requires, is from the inward 'man, or from the Spirit, this is abominably falſe; for 'our bodies are God's handy-work, and God, by the 'apoſtle, commands,' "Glorify God in your body, and "in your ſpirit, which are God's." 'Not to tell you, 'that you, yourſelves, now-a-days, perform ſomewhat 'of bodily worſhip.' Indeed we do, and ever did, and ever ſhall, I hope, while we have bodies to worſhip God in. We are ſo far from denying the body what ſhare is due to it, that with the apoſtle, 1 Cor. vi. 19. we ſay, "What, know ye not that your bodies are the "temples of the Holy Ghoſt, which is in you, which ye "have of God, and you are not your own?" Of which I would have the biſhop well conſider: for, if our very bodies are under the *influence* of the Holy Ghoſt, how much more reaſonable is it to believe, that it dwells in our *ſouls*; and that our hearts muſt be prepared, and animated by the Holy Spirit, in all our devotion towards God. But two things I muſt remark to the biſhop, firſt, That we did not give him the leaſt occaſion to ſuſpect we denied bodily worſhip, as appears by the goſpel-truth now in queſtion: for it is plain there, by theſe words, "worſhip in this day is inward and "ſpiritual," that we only diſtinguiſh between *goſpel* worſhip, and the *ceremonial* and *pompous* worſhip of the *law*; and that by *ſpiritual* worſhip, we underſtand praying, praiſing, and preaching by the preparation and

ſanctification of the *Spirit* of *God*; which the biſhop does not, and, I hope, dares not, deny: yet unkindly, and I think unjuſtly, brings in his *as it would ſeem*, to make us, by an uncharitable innuendo, look to his reader, as if we denied bodily worſhip. And yet, to avoid ſo hard a chapter, as maintaining this aſperſion would prove to the biſhop, he is forced to confeſs "that "*now-a-days* we perform *ſomewhat* of bodily worſhip:" as if we did not perform any formerly, and but a little now: which ſhews not that candour that his character owes us, and but too plainly tells every impartial reader, how much more mind he has that we ſhould be in the *wrong* than in the right. I muſt confeſs, we have *leſs* pomp and gaudineſs in our worſhip, as well as in our clothes, than is the cuſtom of ſome other churches, and think it our happineſs, that we are freed from ſuch an *unprofitable*, as well as unſuitable, incumbrance. Whatever it be, it is ſuch as we believe God by his Holy Spirit hath led us into; and though it be not ſo entertaining to thoſe who are governed more by their *outward ſenſes* than their ſouls, yet I hope it will be allowed us to be *grave*, *ſolemn*, and *fervent*.

The other remark I make upon the biſhop's exceptions is this, That the Spiritual worſhip he there allows of, ſeems to be but the worſhip of *man*'s ſpirit, and not of the Spirit of *God* working upon the ſpirit of man. I would not imitate him, leſt I ſhould be uncharitable too; for if my reader can make more of it, he has my conſent; but that ſeems to me to be the biſhop's interpretation upon Chriſt's words, cited by us, on this occaſion, viz. "God will be worſhipped in ſpirit and "in truth:" though there is a truth in *that* alſo, yet this not being ſo *peculiar* to the goſpel-diſpenſation, could not be the *extent* of Chriſt's words, whoſe drift certainly was, to draw men's minds to a more *inward* and *ſpiritual* worſhip; not only to have *leſs ceremony* than was practiſed among the Jews, but to feel more of the *power* and *Spirit* of *God* in our adoration and praiſes, than belonged to the former diſpenſation; and with which I heartily wiſh the biſhop a better acquaintance. Upon

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the whole matter, I am apt to think my reader believes with me, he might as well have ſpared his pains upon us about the firſt part of his Goſpel Truth, as he is ſilent of the latter, viz. 'That we may preach in *power* as 'well as *words*; and, as God promiſed, and Chriſt or-'dained, without *money* and without *price*.'

The biſhop, in his tenth paragraph, is pleaſed to endeavour to leſſen the authority and credit of our ninth Goſpel Truth, relating to the *vain faſhions* and *cuſtoms* of the *world*. His words are theſe: 'You tell 'us of denying all the vain cuſtoms and faſhions of the 'world, as alſo exceſs in all things; I know of no ſort 'of Chriſtians who teach otherwiſe: I wiſh I knew none '(even of yourſelves) that practiſed otherwiſe; it is one 'part of our catechiſm we teach our children.' He firſt concurs with our doctrine, for he ſays, 'he knows 'none that preaches otherwiſe;' and that they do the like in their catechiſm. So far, then, he allows us to be ſound. But he wiſhes he 'knew none (even of us) 'that practiſe otherwiſe.' This is a ſort of charge, and being not proved, looks like a calumny. Some, perhaps, do not walk quite ſo ſtrictly as becomes them, to their profeſſion; but are they *owned* by us therein? Or indulged itſelf? If not, what are we to conclude, but that the biſhop's inſinuation is to balance accounts with *us* for the failures of his *own* people? But, pray are our exceſſes *equal*, or the *numbers*, that in proportion do tranſgreſs? I would not have him comfort himſelf with his uncharitableneſs to his honeſt and friendly neighbours: as it will not excuſe his leſs exact friends, that any of ours live larger than they profeſs, ſo it cannot juſtly affect our body, where ſo few are faulty, when it is ſo well known that ſuch are ſure to meet with due reproof.

But he adds, that 'There are many innocent and 'laudable cuſtoms we call vain:' This is all in a heap, and a reflection by wholeſale. I can truly tell him, I know of none; and if he had been more particular, ſo would I too: perhaps he thought generals beſt to make his reflection *ſafe*; but if it were my place to be plaintiff,

tiff, I could treat the biſhop with a large catalogue of very offenſive cuſtoms, that would concern him to think upon. However, he is pleaſed to be particular upon us in one of them, which almoſt turns his ſtomach, he ſays, to think of, viz. 'Would it not make a man's 'ſtomach turn, to hear one forbear, in point of *con-* '*ſcience*, ſaying, *you* to a ſingle perſon, becauſe it is im- 'proper; and at the ſame time, while he is talking to 'his ſuperior, becauſe *thou doſt* ſounds a little rudely, 'to ſoften the thou, and ſay, *thee doeſt*, which is com- 'monly your people's practice.' It is pity the biſhop could find nothing elſe to obſerve from us, that might have better edified us and his readers: yet if this be that, among the laudable cuſtoms which we call vain, which is moſt offenſive to his ſtomach, it ſhews him to have a very *weak* one. However, a weak ſtomach is better than a weak *head*; and ſuch an one I ſhould take mine to be, if my inſtances were no more to the purpoſe and my reader's inſtruction.

But I have ſomewhat to ſay to the biſhop, before I leave him, upon the old topick of *ſincerity* and *charity*, in this reflection, as I have had in moſt of the other, viz. That he makes the *ground* of our conſcientiouſneſs, about the ſaying of *you* to a ſingle perſon, to be only *propriety* of ſpeech; which he (I was going to ſay) in his conſcience muſt know is not ſo: but that the true reaſon of it is, firſt, that it is the language of the *ſcriptures* of *truth*; and next, that the original of *you*, to a ſingle perſon, was *pride* and *flattery*, being a *plural* honour to a *ſingle perſon*, given firſt to *Potentates*, and then gradually to all ſubordinate ranks of people. In ancient and unmixed tongues, *thou* to a ſingle perſon is kept ſtill, as alſo among the common people of the preſent languages, and particularly in that kingdom where he is a biſhop. I refer him to a book, intituled, "No Croſs, No Crown," where he will find *other* reaſons for our tenderneſs in that matter than he alleges, or we have room for here; though the biſhop confines us to *propriety*, as the *only* reaſon of our practice, that he might the better laſh us with the impropriety of

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thee for *thou*; which yet he might have ſpared, ſince nothing is more common with all people, than to take the like freedom in ſpeech, in *caſes* as well as *tenſes*, not excepting the learned themſelves. But be it ſo, we keep *numbers*, and intend not clipping of caſes; and that is our point, though not the biſhop's, it ſeems; which it ſhould have been, would he have been juſt to us upon the queſtion. As for the *levity* and *ſcorn*, with which he is pleaſed to treat us upon this head, I ſhall only ſay, it unbecame him, and confirms us, more than it expoſes us, whatever it does him.

But I confeſs I am ſurpriſed to find a man of his character and pretenſions, propoſe ſo looſe a queſtion as that with which he cloſes his paragraph, viz. 'Will 'you ever be able to prove, the primitive Chriſtians 'uſed a dialect, or dreſs, different from others of their 'nation or quality, and placed religion in it? Does 'not Chriſt require ſaluting thoſe that ſalute not us? 'And, no doubt, his and his apoſtles ſalutations were 'in the common form.' Doubtleſs, we *are* able, moſt eaſily and fully: and it is admirable to conceive how he could be ignorant of thoſe proofs, who ought to be ſo well read in *ſcripture* and *antiquity*. "I beſeech "you therefore, brethren," ſays the apoſtle, "by the "mercies of God, that you preſent your bodies a "living ſacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God; which "is your reaſonable ſervice: and *be not conformed* to "*this world*, but be ye *transformed* by the renewing "of your minds," Rom. xii. 1, 2. Again, the apoſtle Peter, chap. i. 13, 14. exhorts the believers "to "gird up the loins of their minds, and be ſober, as "obedient children, not *faſhioning* themſelves according to the *former* luſts in their ignorance;" which was the *cuſtom* of their country. And chap. iii. 3, 4. "Whoſe adorning let it not be that of *plaiting the hair*, "and of *wearing of gold*, or of *putting on of apparel*: "but let it be the *hidden man* of the *heart*, in that "which is *not corruptible*, even the ornament of a *meek* "and *quiet ſpirit*, which is, in the ſight of God, of "great price." Thus the apoſtolical counſel to the churches.

churches. But for all this, the biſhop of Cork cannot tell how to think we are able to prove, 'that the 'primitive Chriſtians differed in their dreſs, from other 'people in their country and quality.' Nor was this only the ſtrictneſs of *that* time; for the ſame apoſtle adds, verſe 4, as an argument to enforce his advice, "For, after *this manner*," ſays he, "in the old time, "the holy women alſo, who truſted in God, *adorned* "*themſelves*." But can a man of his letters really be at a loſs for a proof of the ſingularity of primitive Chriſtians, in dreſs, ſpeech, and behaviour? Or is it to try whether we have any to reſolve his queſtion? Or, taking our illiterature for granted, that he *puts upon* us? I beſeech him to converſe with Ouzelius upon Minutius Felix, and he will tell him that the firſt Chriſtians were taxed and deſpiſed for *ill-bred* in *manners*, *unpoliſhed* in *ſpeech*, *unfaſhionable* in *behaviour*; in fine, *ruſticks* and *clowns:* as the Chriſtians, ironically, returned their ſcorners the ſtile of *well-bred* and *eloquent*. This, and much more, he cites out of Arnobius, Lactantius, Theodoret, &c. And Jerome, writing to Celantia and Demetias, noble women of that time, ſets them a *ſingular* form of life from that of the people of their quality: and Paulinus, biſhop of Nola, was ſo far from pleading for Chriſtians *temporizing* with the people of their own nation, or quality, according to the biſhop of Cork, that he ſharply *reproves* Sulpitius Severus *for it*, in a letter to him; as the learned Caſaubon, in his "Diſcourſe of Uſe and Cuſtoms," obſerves. If the biſhop would look into the "*Conſti*-"*tutions*," that go under the name of *Clemens Romanus*, with Tertullian, Gregory Naz. Clemens Alexandrinus, Auſtin, Gregory the Great, and other ancients, he would perceive the care and zeal of thoſe eminent men to ſuppreſs the educations and cuſtoms of the Gentiles, and to encourage and recommend the ſimplicity and moderation of the manners and behaviour of the firſt Chriſtians, which Machiavel, in his 2d book of "*Diſputations*," takes notice of, and is none of the leaſt proofs to our point.

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And to finiſh my authorities, paſſing by Petrus Belonius, Gratian, Cardan, Luther, &c. I muſt recommend to the biſhop the hiſtory of the Waldenſes, (an *early* people, if not *ſucceſſive* from the primitive times) written by one Perrin, more eſpecially concerning their *faith*, *worſhip*, and *diſcipline*; and there he may, if he pleaſe, obſerve the *ſimplicity*, *plainneſs*, and *diſtinction* of that people from the cuſtoms of the countries they lived in, and thoſe that have the name of reformed ones now.

But he tells us, 'Chriſt and his apoſtles had ſalutations;' and I tell him, ſo have we. But he will have it, 'that Chriſt and his apoſtles ſaluted after the *faſhion* 'of the *country* they were in;' which is ſooner ſaid than proved. For Chriſt aſked the Jews, "How can "you believe, that receive honour one of another, "and ſeek not the honour that cometh from God "*only?*" Now this, certainly, muſt be unlawful to give or receive, which hinders true faith. And what was this honour, but *ſalutations* after the faſhions of the times? As the text ſhews, Matt. xxiii. And for calling, and being called of men, *Rabbi*, Chriſt was ſo far from commanding, or imitating them in ſuch things, that he expreſsly *forbids it*. But the meaning of Chriſt's ſaying, Matt. v. "And if you ſalute your "brethren only, what do ye more than others? Do "not even the publicans ſo?" is this; that in all acts of *love*, *mercy*, and *goodneſs*, they were to *exceed* the practice of that time: they were to take more notice of, and to look more kindly and friendly upon, all men. But, in another ſenſe, he that bid them ſalute *enemies* as well as *friends*, alſo forbids his diſciples to ſalute *any* man, or call *any* man *Rabbi*, or *Maſter*; for that *one* was their *Lord* and *Maſter*, and they were all *brethren*, Matt. xxiii. 6, 7, 8. and Luke x. 4. And between *ſuch* relations, worldly honours were of no uſe, as well as of no value. And did a primitive ſpirit prevail in thoſe that ſo much pretend to be the *ſucceſſors* of the apoſtles, we ſhould ſee them more exemplary in *ſelf-denial* and *holineſs*; encouraging, and not

not undervaluing and brow-beating, the ſerious and conſcientious. But "Trees are known by their fruit; "for grapes are not gathered of thorns, nor figs of "thiſtles."

In the mean time, if my reader pleaſe to peruſe the ninth and tenth chapters of that book, intituled, "*No Croſs, no Crown*," he will, I hope, be ſatisfied, that we are for honour, reſpect, and civility, according to *ſcripture*; though non-conformiſts to the *empty* and *troubleſome* ceremonies of the *times*; left by us, not of rudeneſs, but conviction; and forborne of duty, and no otherwiſe of choice: for, humanly ſpeaking, that contradiction to cuſtom cannot be *pleaſant* to us. I have detained my reader longer upon this head than I expected, or perhaps he deſired: I ſhall therefore proceed to the biſhop's next paragraph, which contains his exceptions to our tenth Goſpel-Truth about *baptiſm* and the *ſupper*, and the laſt he has to take notice of; the eleventh, about *government*, being by him already granted in the beginning of his paper.

He begins thus: 'In your tenth article you believe 'a ſpiritual baptiſm, and a ſpiritual ſupper and com-'munion, but acknowledge, you diſuſe the outward 'ſigns, by us commonly called ſacraments: now did 'not Chriſt command water-baptiſm?' "Go ye and "baptize all nations," Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

He goes on, 'The baptiſm here commanded was 'water-baptiſm:' his reaſons are, firſt, 'That bap-'tizing with the ſpirit, was God's work, not the 'apoſtles. 2dly, Primitive practice, Acts x. 47, 48. 'in Cornelius's caſe; "Who can forbid water?" But this is alſo *gratis dictum*: for the firſt reaſon is *no* reaſon, ſince it is not *true*: and the ſecond ſeems to me *defective* and *ſhort*. I am very ſenſible of the *diſadvantage* I am under, and that I touch a *tender* place; and what I ſay upon *this* head, as alſo anon upon the *ſupper*, will be againſt wind and tide with the generality. But as I hope I ſhall expreſs myſelf *reverently*, as well as *plainly*, upon this occaſion, ſo I beſeech my reader, for his own ſake, as well as ours, not to *pre-*

judge

judge us; as I am ſure he will not; if he be a *ſearcher* after *truth*, and that I charitably ſuppoſe of him.

I ſay then, the biſhop's firſt reaſon is not true; for God, by the *apoſtles*, did baptize believers with the *Holy Ghoſt*. It fell upon them, through the powerful preaching of the word: thus, Acts x. 44. "While "*Peter* yet ſpake *theſe words*, the Holy Ghoſt fell on "all them which heard the word." By which it is evident, that *Peter*, in that *ſermon*, was the miniſter of the ſpiritual baptiſm to Cornelius and his company.

And Peter gives this account to thoſe of the circumciſion at Jeruſalem, Acts xi. 15. "And as I be-"gan to ſpeak, the Holy Spirit fell on *them*, as on "*us* at the beginning: then remembered I the word "of the Lord, how that he ſaid, John indeed bap-"tized with water, but ye ſhall be baptized with the "Holy Spirit." So that Peter evidently declares the gift of the *ſpirit*, by the miniſtry of the *goſpel*, to be the baptiſm of *Chriſt*, or the baptiſm of the *Holy Spirit* and *fire*, which Chriſt promiſed at his aſcenſion into heaven.

But the apoſtle Paul puts this matter beyond all doubt, in his excellent account he gives of his converſion and commiſſion to king Agrippa, Acts xxvi. where my reader will find theſe words dropping from the mouth of the Lord Jeſus to Saul; "Delivering "thee from the people, and from the Gentiles, to "whom now I ſend thee, to *open their eyes*, and to "turn them from *darkneſs* to *light*, and from the *power* "*of Satan* unto *God*, that they may receive forgive-"neſs of ſins, and an inheritance among them which "are ſanctified through faith that is in me," verſe 17, 18. Now if this could be done *without* the Holy Ghoſt, let my reader judge. It was *with* the Holy Ghoſt that Peter's hearers were *pricked to the heart*, and fitted to receive more of it: and it was by the *ſame* Holy Ghoſt that Paul's hearers had the *eyes of their minds opened*, to ſee the myſteries of God's kingdom, and by which they were *converted* from *darkneſs* to *light*, that they might receive the forgiveneſs of their ſins,

and

and an inheritance among them which are ſanctified. So that the very end and benefit of the apoſtolical miniſtry was *converting*, that is, *baptizing them into Chriſtianity*, in the nature, power, and life of it, by the *Holy Ghoſt*.

Now, for the biſhop's ſecond reaſon, viz. *Practice*: I ſay it is granted, that water-baptiſm having got place among them by John's miniſtry, the fore-runner, it held after Chriſt's coming; but that was *ex gratiâ*, and of *condeſcenſion*, not of *commiſſion*; for that properly *ceaſes*, when *his* miniſtration *begins*, of which John's was but the *fore-runner*. For *Moſes* and the *prophets* were 'till *John*, and *John* 'till *Chriſt*. And this, John, the Water-baptiſt, tells us, Mat. iii. 11. "I indeed "baptize you with *water* unto repentance; but he "that cometh after me is mightier than I, he ſhall "baptize you with the *Holy Ghoſt* and with *fire*," ſee Mark i. 8. Luke iii. 16. Here is a *different* baptiſm *and* baptizer, the *ſervant* and the *maſter*, the *water* and the *Holy Ghoſt*. One *tranſient*, the other *permanent*: one the *end* of the *Jewiſh*, and the other the *beginning* of the *goſpel* diſpenſation. Wherefore, ſays our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, "The leaſt in the kingdom of heaven is "greater than *John*," Matt. xi. 11. Why, is not John in heaven? No doubt of it at all, and a glorious ſaint too: but the leaſt in *Chriſt*'s diſpenſation, viz. 'The kingdom of God in the *ſoul*, the work of *Chriſt*, 'the baptizer with the *Holy Ghoſt* and *fire*,' is greater than *John*, as to the *nature of his adminiſtration*. See John iii. 30, 31. "He muſt increaſe, but I muſt de-"creaſe." What! *John* decreaſe, or his *miniſtry*? His *miniſtration*, certainly, which he calls *earthly*, in compariſon of Chriſt's. So that the Baptiſt, in his *watery* diſpenſation, did but *forerun* Chriſt, in reference to the kingdom that he was to ſet up in men. He pointed to Chriſt, and ſhewed what Chriſt was to do, viz. to *waſh*, *fan*, and thoroughly *purge* his *floor*; that is, his *people*, and ſanctify them *throughout*, by his *ſpiritual* baptiſm, according to the apoſtle, in *body*, *ſoul*, and *ſpirit*, 1 Theſſ. v. 23. So that, in ſhort,

practice,

practice, properly, can be no *inſtitution*, where the thing practiſed has no *commiſſion*; which, I ſuppoſe, the biſhop will not think fit to deny: 'But,' ſays he, 'it 'has a commiſſion,' Matt. xxviii. 19. which is, under favour, but his *ſay*-ſo; and that I think it is no more, I do, with all humility and ſubmiſſion, ſay, firſt, I cannot tell how to reconcile it to good ſenſe, or common uſage, in ſacred or civil matters, that any thing ſhould be in *force* by a commiſſion, that is not ſo much as *once named* in the commiſſion. I ſay, to me, it does not appear *congruous*, any more than *cogent*, or obliging. And this is the cauſe in hand: for there is not a word of *water* in the text alleged for water; nor yet in the context. And unleſs there were *no other* baptiſm than that of *water*, as there are ſeveral, it muſt, at leaſt, be allowed to be a queſtion, *what* baptiſm Chriſt meant in that commiſſion, when he ſaid, "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing "them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy "Ghoſt."

But it may be returned upon me, 'Nor does the 'text ſay it is the baptiſm of the *Holy Ghoſt*,' and ſo the biſhop is upon equal terms with me. Grant it, that the word *Holy Ghoſt* is not literally joined to *baptizing*, any more than the word *water* in that part: but if I am able to ſhew that the *thing* is there, and that the baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt was the *ſubject* of Chriſt's diſcourſe, when he gave that commiſſion at his farewell, I preſume it will be granted me, that Chriſt intended a *ſpiritual*, and not a *water*-baptiſm; and that is what I ſhall do, I hope, with much clearneſs. Firſt, the fact, and then my arguments. *Matthew*, the evangeliſt, large in his hiſtory upon other points, ſeems ſhort and abrupt in the context of this commiſſion, as the reader may obſerve. And as it is uſual for one evangeliſt to explain another, (which was the great wiſdom, as well as goodneſs of God, that thoſe Chriſtian memorials might come with leſs ſuſpicion to the world of any human contrivance); ſo *Luke* ſupplies the ſhortneſs of the other evangeliſt

in his context to this commiſſion. Luke xxiv. 45, to 50, particularly the 47, 48, 49, verſes. "And that "repentance, and remiſſion of ſins, ſhould be preach-"ed in his name among all nations, beginning at "*Jeruſalem*. And ye are *witneſſes* of theſe things. "And behold I ſend the *promiſe* of my Father upon "you: but tarry ye in the city of *Jeruſalem* until ye be "endued with power from on high." Where, as it is plain that this evangeliſt, in his account of Chriſt's commiſſion, (to wit, the work Chriſt gave his diſciples to do) names no *baptizing* at all, though that which it *implies*, in my ſenſe of the word, is there, viz. *the promiſe of the Father*, which is the power from on high they were to *tarry* at Jeruſalem *for*. So is there not *one word* of *water* here mentioned, to induce us to think that Chriſt intended to give it *any place* in his commiſſion. In ſhort it appears that the diſciples were to be *qualified*, before they were to go forth as his *witneſſes*, and that this *qualification* is the *promiſe of the Father*, that he would quickly ſend them. Now I muſt deſire my reader to turn to the *acts* of this evangeliſt, chap. i. 4, 5. where he farther opens the manner and matter of Chriſt's diſcourſe, and farewell to his diſciples: "And (Chriſt) being aſſembled with "them, commanded them that they ſhould not depart "from Jeruſalem, but wait for the *promiſe* of the Fa-"ther, which, ſaith he, ye have learnt of me: for, John "truly baptized with water, but ye ſhall be baptized "with the Holy Ghoſt not many days hence." It can be, methinks, no longer a doubt *what* baptiſm it is that Chriſt's words, Matt. xxviii. 19. refer to; ſince we ſee not only that Chriſt diſtinguiſhes between *John*'s baptiſm and *his own*, and between *water* and *Holy Ghoſt*; but alſo he aſſigns water-baptiſm to *John*, as *his* baptiſm, and not *Chriſt*'s, and thereby declares the *Holy Ghoſt* to be *his own* baptiſm, and none of *John*'s, and which yet is no more than what John had ſaid before.

So that comparing both texts together, Matt. xxviii. 19, and Acts i. 4, 5, we may ſee, if we pleaſe, that the

the *commiſſion* in the one, is to be explained by the *qualifications* in the other, which was omitted by the firſt evangeliſt. There they are bid to *go*, here they are bid to *ſtay*: that is to ſay, 'ſtay, before you go, 'and receive your *qualifications*, before you go to *qua-'lify*,' viz. the *promiſe* of the *Father*; that is, the *baptiſm* of the *Holy Ghoſt*, which is followed by the *power from on high*, verſe 8. And indeed, had we not this expreſs force on our ſide from the text itſelf, the word *therefore*, in the commiſſion, (referring plainly to the foregoing verſe, as the reaſon of what follows) juſtifies our ſenſe. For whereas the biſhop has objected againſt our aſſertion, 'That it muſt not be a *ſpiri-'tual* baptiſm, becauſe that was the work of God, 'and not of the apoſtles;' it is plain that our Lord takes off the force of his exception, ſince the reaſon why he bid them *go*, &c. is, "Becauſe," ſays he, "all "power in heaven and earth is given unto me," verſe 18. as much as if he had ſaid, 'Go, do all that I 'have ſaid unto you, and be not *doubting* or *fearful*, 'about the performance of it; for *all power* in hea-'ven and earth is given unto *me*, that *bid* you go, 'and lo I am with you always, even unto the end of 'the world.' Which need not have been ſaid, as an encouragement to them, in reference to *water*-baptiſm, ſince that was practiſed by them, as well as by John's diſciples, long before.

Nor is this all; for the very text, duly conſidered, will not have it to be *water*, ſince that could baptize none *into* the name of the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghoſt*, and ſo the biſhop knows the Greek text runs εἰς τὸ ὄνομα. For they that are baptized *into* the name of the *Father*, and of the *Son*, and of the *Holy Ghoſt*, muſt be baptized with the baptiſm of the *Holy Ghoſt*: ſince it is to become their *likeneſs*, and bear their *image*, which is *holineſs*. And had not the apoſtles underſtood their commiſſion as I render it, when they had baptized with water they would certainly have uſed the terms that bore the force of their commiſſion, viz. "In "the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of

" the Holy Ghoſt;" of which there is not one inſtance in all the ſcripture.

But that which farther ſhews that *water* cannot be underſtood to be meant in the apoſtolical commiſſion, is, that one of the greateſt of the apoſtles, he that came behind (and was added to by) none of them, denies it (1 Cor. i. 27.) to be *any part* of his *commiſſion*; " For," ſays he, " Chriſt ſent me not to *bap-*" *tize*, but to preach the goſpel:" and thanks God for that reaſon, in the foregoing verſes, that he had baptized *ſo few*: which, to be ſure, he ought not to have done, but, on the contrary, to have been ſorry he had baptized no more, had water-baptiſm been part of the apoſtolical commiſſion, Matt. xxviii. 19. Again, this eminent apoſtle, the great grand-father, [not to ſay god-father] of Gentile-Chriſtians, delivered to them for doctrine, Eph. iv. 5. that there was but " One Lord, one faith, and one baptiſm." And if ſo, that muſt be the baptiſm of *fire* and of the *Holy Ghoſt*, which is *Chriſt*'s baptiſm, and *proper* to the goſpel-diſpenſation. Now, could any other make a man a *true Chriſtian*, or a *child of God*, then? Nor can any be ſo now without it. That baptiſm, therefore, without which a man cannot be a *true Jew*, or *Chriſtian*, or of the " circumciſion made without hands, " that worſhip God in the ſpirit, and hath no confi-" dence in the fleſh," muſt needs be the *one baptiſm*: but ſuch is the baptiſm of the *Holy Ghoſt*: therefore the *ſpiritual baptiſm* is the apoſtle's *one baptiſm*, Rom. ii. 28, 29. Phil. iii. 3. Again; the *one* baptiſm muſt be *Chriſt*'s baptiſm: but Chriſt's is the baptiſm of the *ſpirit*; therefore *that*, and not *water*-baptiſm, muſt be the *one* baptiſm that is in force, according to the apoſtle. As *John* was the fore-runner of *Chriſt*, ſo was *water*, of the *Holy Ghoſt*: but that which *fore-runs*, in nature *ceaſes*; and that which *ſucceeds*, of courſe *remains*: therefore the baptiſm of the *ſpirit*, is the *one needful* and *permanent* baptiſm.

Yet farther; If it be goſpel, " That he is not a " Jew that is one outward, nor that circumciſion

" that

" that is outward in the fleſh; but that he is a Jew " that is one *inward*, and that is circumciſion that is " of the heart, in the *ſpirit*, and not in the *letter*; " whoſe praiſe is not of men, but of God," as Rom. ii. 28, 29. then, unanſwerably, ' He is not a *Chriſtian* ' that is one *outward*, nor is that *baptiſm* that is of the ' *fleſh*: but he is a Chriſtian that is one *inwardly*, and ' that is baptiſm that is of the *heart*, in the *ſpirit*; ' whoſe praiſe is not of men, but of God.' For, indeed, in all ages, men cry him down, as a *ſlighter* of God's ordinances; but his praiſe, however, is of *God*, let men ſay what they will: and this is the inward Chriſtian's comfort, in all undervaluings and reflections he meets with from outſide Chriſtians. For it is not to be thought that the apoſtle meant or deſigned to undervalue *one* obſervation, as that of circumciſion, becauſe it is outward, and ſet up *another* outward obſervation *inſtead* of it, viz. *water*-baptiſm.

Again, " If in Chriſt Jeſus, neither circumciſion " availeth any thing, nor uncircumciſion, but a *new* " *creature*;" as ſaith the ſame apoſtle, Gal. vi. 15; then, by the ſame reaſon, ' Neither being baptized ' with *water* availeth any thing, nor being *not* baptized ' with water, but a new creature."

I will repeat the apoſtle's diſcourſe at large upon this ſubject, in the ſame chapter, becauſe it is very inſtructing, and ſeems deciſive in this caſe: " As many," ſays he, " as deſire to make a fair ſhew in the *fleſh*, " they conſtrain you to be circumciſed; only leſt " they ſhould ſuffer perſecution for the croſs of " Chriſt." It ſeems they were *outſide* people, that laid ſtreſs upon *outſide* things, or ſomething elſe inſtead of the croſs of Chriſt; for they temporized in *this* matter, to ſhun the ſhame and perſecution that then attended the Chriſtian's croſs: which ſtood, partly, in *laying down* of outward obſervations; and which they that deſire to make a fair ſhew in the *fleſh*, ſtand moſt *for*. But the apoſtle goes on; " For," ſays he, " neither " they themſelves, who are circumciſed, *keep* the law, " but deſire to have *you* circumciſed, that they may

" glory in your fleſh." They were not exact in the *other* parts of the law, it ſeems, as ſtrict as they ſeemed to be for this ſacramental practice; which is the caſe of too many now: yet they preſſed it, that they might glory, and value themſelves upon gaining others to be conformable to them, whether to excuſe their compliance with cuſtom, that they might avoid perſecution, or out of love to ceremonial religion.

" But," ſays that clear-ſighted and plain-dealing apoſtle, " God forbid that I ſhould glory, ſave in the " croſs of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whereby the world is " crucified unto me, and I unto the world." If he rejoiced in *nothing*, but in the croſs of Chriſt, then in *no other* elementary rite, ſervice, or ordinance, any more than in circumciſion.

But he proceeds: " For in Chriſt Jeſus, neither cir- " cumciſion *availeth* any thing, nor uncircumciſion, " but a new creature." That is to ſay, ' For accord- ' ing to Chriſt Jeſus, or in the *religion* of Chriſt Jeſus, ' neither circumciſion nor uncircumciſion availeth, ' but a *new* creature, a *regenerate* ſoul; one born again ' by the Spirit of *God:*' for the apoſtle, in theſe excellent words, not only ſtrikes at circumciſion, but *all* outward and elementary obſervations: neither this, nor that, *outward thing* availeth in the *Chriſtian religion*, or according to *Chriſt Jeſus*, but a *new creature:*' he does not ſay, ' *but water-baptiſm*,' as ſome would have it, who tell us, that it *ſucceeds* circumciſion, by divine inſtitution: by no means! But that which availeth with Chriſt, and in the religion of Chriſt Jeſus, is a *new* creature, a *new* man, one *changed*, *regenerated*, or born *again*, by the *word* and *baptiſm* of the *Holy Ghoſt*. " And," ſays the apoſtle, to confirm them in this doctrine of *inward* circumciſion, that is of the *heart*, in the *ſpirit*, (which is the ſame thing with the *baptiſm* of the Spirit) " As many as walk according to *this* " rule, *peace* ſhall be upon them." So that we, the poor deſpiſed *Quakers*, take comfort in this apoſtolical benediction, and can ſay, to God's glory, his *peace has been upon us*, in our belief and confeſſion of his bleſſed

doctrine

doctrine of the *new creature*. It is what we have aimed at, and has been the great drift of our teſtimony ſince we were a people; and in order to it, we have directed all to the gift of God's grace in themſelves, that by believing in it, and reſigning up their wills and affections, and whole man, to the teaching and conduct of it, they may be leavened and ſanctified by it, throughout; by which the *ſtate* of the *new creature*, which is *Chriſtianity indeed*, will be experienced; though it was, and is, a myſtery to the *world*.

As for the apoſtle Peter's queſtion, Acts x. 48. "Can any man forbid water, that theſe ſhould not "be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghoſt "as well as we?" It imports, with ſubmiſſion, no more than this; that Peter, well knowing the narrowneſs of his countrymens ſpirits, was cautious leſt his latitude ſhould diſtaſte them: for the *Gentiles* being *unholineſs* to the *Jews*, and even Peter *himſelf*, without a viſion from God, too narrow-ſpirited for the convictions and devotion of that excellent centurion Cornelius, it behoved him to aſk, if any body had any thing to ſay, why *they* might not be baptized as well as the *Jews*, being proſelytes to the Chriſtian profeſſion? In all which he ſeems more concerned to ſave his *own credit*, than to recommend, or eſtabliſh, that of *water-baptiſm*. As if he had ſaid, 'Why ſhould this cuſtom be 'forbidden to the *Gentiles* more than the Jews?' But this will not warrant the practice in general, becauſe *practice* is no *inſtitution*, and that there appears no *command* to make it one. So that aſking, Who can *forbid*, what was not *commanded*, ſtrengthens his queſtion, inſtead of weakening it, ſince what was done of *condeſcenſion*, could not have been forbid upon *authority*. There needed not ſo much care or ſtrictneſs in the matter. And indeed the apoſtles *themſelves* ſeem not to have been ſo clear about the aboliſhing of the *Jewiſh obſervations*, as appears by the want Peter had of a *viſion*, his own apprehenſion of the *ſtraitneſs* of his brethren, and their calling him to account for what he had done, as may be ſeen in the ſame chapter.

But I confeſs I cannot ſee why the biſhop ſhould aſſume the power of unchriſtianing us, for not practiſing of that which he himſelf practiſes ſo *unſcripturally*, and that according to the ſentiments of a conſiderable part of Chriſtendom; having not *one* text of ſcripture, to prove, that *ſprinkling of water in the face* was the water-baptiſm, or that *children* were the *ſubjects* of water-baptiſm, in the *firſt times*. And yet this is *all* the baptiſm the *biſhop* practiſes, who ſeems ſo ſevere upon *us*. I think our *forbearing* of water-baptiſm, from a belief and ſenſe of the coming of the inviſible grace, ſignified by that viſible *ſign*, cannot be reputed *ſuch* a ſlight to water-baptiſm, as preſuming to *alter* the manner and ſubſtance of its firſt inſtitution: for then it was in the river *Jordan*, now in a *baſon*; it was then unto *repentance*, now, to children *uncapable* of repentance. But that which perhaps miſled the doctors of the *declining church* firſt into this practice, being at the diſtance of ſome hundreds of years from the apoſtolical times, might be the ſuppoſition that water-baptiſm came in the place of circumciſion, and *that* being to *children*, ſo might water-baptiſm too. But they forgot (among other things, which, even before that time, were crept into the church, without precept, or evangelical example) that *repentance* was not made a condition to *circumciſion*, as it *was* to water-baptiſm. I would beſeech the biſhop to tread ſoftly in this matter; for if *water-baptiſm* ſhould indeed prove a *badge* of *Chriſtianity*, he would be at a loſs for one that would paſs current in ſcripture. Thus much for this point.

What I have ſaid upon this head of water-baptiſm, may ſerve alſo for what is commonly called *the Lord's ſupper*, which the biſhop reproves us for omitting to practiſe; urging Luke xxii. 19. "This do in remem-"brance of me;" and the apoſtle's words, 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25. It is true, indeed, Chriſt ſaid, when he eat it with his diſciples, "That they ſhould do it in re-"membrance of him till he came." And this ſeems much more of the nature of a commiſſion, than that

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cited by the biſhop for water-baptiſm: but the *limitation* Chriſt gives to the *practice* of it, and a right and proper conſideration of the *import* of his *words*, and the *nature* of the *thing*, will beſt lead us to underſtand his mind therein.

Firſt, This was alſo a *Jewiſh practice*, as well as *water-baptiſm*, and ſo, in nature, of no *goſpel* inſtitution, but temporary in its uſe.

Secondly, Chriſt ſeems, by this, to break, or open to them, what was ſo hard for them to bear, to wit, his *departure* and *death*, by a token of memorial till he ſhould come to them again.

Thirdly, Chriſt takes occaſion from thence, to ſhew forth to his diſciples the *myſtical ſupper* they ſhould eat, and the fellowſhip they ſhould have with him, when he came again.

Now we believe this coming was *ſpiritual*, ſuitable to that ſaying of his, "I will drink no more of this "fruit of the vine, till I drink it new with you in the "kingdom of my Father: and ſome here ſhall not "taſte of death, till they ſee the Son of Man coming "in his kingdom," Matt. xvi. 28. Again, "He "that dwelleth with you, ſhall be in you," John xiv. "I in them, and they in me," chap. xvii. All which plainly imports a ſpiritual coming. Alſo Rev. iii. 20. "Behold I ſtand at the door and knock, if any man "hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in "to him, and will *ſup* with him, and he with me," which was ſaid near forty years after his aſcenſion. Now ſince this is acknowledged to be an *outward ſign* of an *inward* and *inviſible grace*, what can outward bread and wine more properly ſignify and reſemble, than an *inward ſupper?* And if ſo, the words may reaſonably be read thus, 'Eat this ſupper of outward 'bread and wine, till *I* come into and ſup with you, 'and be your ſupper, that am the bread and wine 'from *heaven*, which nouriſhes the *ſoul* unto eternal 'life.'

Fourthly, The kingdom of God being *ſpiritual*, and in the ſoul, *ſuch* ſhould be the *ordinances* of that kingdom.

dom. Now Chriſt tells the Phariſees, Luke xvii. 20. "The kingdom of God is *within*." And the apoſtle Paul, Rom. xiv. 17. ſaith, "The kingdom of God "is not *meat* and *drink*, but righteouſneſs, and peace, "and joy in the Holy Ghoſt:" but the outward ſupper *is* meat and drink, and therefore not of the kingdom of God, which is *not* meat and drink, but righteouſneſs, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt. And this was made uſe of by Chriſt, in the ſtate of humiliation, before his death, and the pouring forth of the Holy Ghoſt, to faſten upon his diſciples, that were *weak*, and of *little faith*, the remembrance of him, till they ſhould know him *with* them, and *in* them, by his *ſpiritual* appearance (as he was "the Lord from heaven, "the quickening Spirit,") according to his promiſe. For if the ſcripture be conſulted, we ſhall not only find that Chriſt *reproves* the apoſtles for their infidelity in him, but, after all the example, precepts, and miracles they ſaw by him, and that he had ſo very lately left them with ſuch aſſurances of his coming to them *again*; yet when Mary, &c. brought them the tidings of his *reſurrection*, it is ſaid, Luke xxiv. 10, 11. "Their "words ſeemed to the diſciples as *idle tales*, and they "believed them *not*." Which ſufficiently ſhews the *low ſtate* they were in, or that at leaſt they needed a *ſign* or *token*, as that of the *ſupper*, to commemorate him. But this reaſon, which is yet *true*, does not credit its continuation; for when the *Spirit* was come, or Chriſt in his ſpiritual appearance, their eyes were opened, and they ſaw then it was the "Spirit that "quickens, the fleſh profiteth nothing." John vi. 63.

Fifthly, Moſt certainly Chriſt meant no leſs, when he preached himſelf "the Bread that came down from "heaven," John vi. 31. to 52. and that they that would have life eternal, muſt "eat his fleſh, and drink "his blood;" that is, they muſt feed upon *ſpiritual* food; not the outward, but *inward* ſupper; the thing ſignified, and ſubſtance itſelf. For Chriſt oppoſes *himſelf*, "who is the Bread of God," to the bread their fathers eat in the wilderneſs, who were *dead*, which

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was of an *elementary* nature: therefore it can never be, that *ſuch* bread as *periſheth*, ſhould be the bread of the *evangelical ſupper*, when Chriſt, by compariſon, undervalues it to the bread he had to give them.

Sixthly, Our bleſſed Lord, Mark vii. 18. taught, "That it was not that which went *into* the man that "*defileth* the man," becauſe it went but into his *body*, and not into his *heart*: and if ſo, the argument is undeniable, that it is not that which goeth into the man, that is, into his body, and not into his heart, that *ſanctifieth* the man: but *material* bread and wine goeth only into the *body*, and not into the *heart*; therefore they cannot *ſanctify*. The import of Chriſt's words is plainly this, 'Meats and drinks neither *defile* nor *ſanc-*'*tify*; they neither benefit nor harm any one upon a '*ſpiritual* account:' conſequently *elementary* bread and wine cannot be the *evangelical ſupper*, but a *figure* of it, which is ended in *Chriſt*, the "Bread of God, that "cometh down from heaven," John vi. 31, 32, 48, 49, 50. that a man may eat of, and not *die*; the ſubſtance of all ſhadows: for, ſaith the apoſtle, "The "body is of Chriſt;" and where that is, our Lord tells us, Luke xiii. 37, "the eagles are gathered to-"gether:" where the apoſtle's wiſe men, 1 Cor. x. 15. ſeek for the true ſupper, which nouriſhes the ſoul unto eternal life.

Seventhly, But the biſhop will have this ſupper four times repeated in the ſcripture of the New Teſtament, beſides that of the apoſtle Paul; which muſt be his miſtake—ſince there is no command to practiſe it beyond that very *time*, but in Luke xxii. 19. if there itſelf. For though his *eating* of the paſſover is there related, as alſo in Mark and Luke, it was but *once done*; and the command, "This do in remembrance "of me," is only *once related* among the evangeliſts, as well as it is *once commanded*. And would we be ſtrict with the biſhop, we need not allow him that command to reach farther than the *preſent* time in which it was given; for "*This do*," or, "*Take, eat*," are equally in the *preſent* tenſe, "for thereby you *ſhew* forth my "death."

"death." And the following words, viz. "I will "drink no more of *this* fruit of the vine, until that "day when I drink it *new* with you in my Father's "kingdom," Matt. xxvi. 29. farther explains it. Thus Mark has it, xiv. 25. "Verily I ſay unto you, "I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until "that day that I drink it *new* in the kingdom of "God." Luke xxii. 18. gives it thus, "I ſay unto "you, I will not drink of the vine till the kingdom "of God *ſhall come.*" Now it is plain that Chriſt refers them to the *ſpiritual* ſupper, which we prefer and practiſe, and which is the ſupper *ſignified* by that of *outward* bread and wine, that was to ſerve *till* the kingdom of God *came*, and *then* he would communicate with them in a way *ſuitable* to his kingdom: which kingdom, as before ſaid, is not *meat* and *drink*, but "righteouſneſs, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt." And as the ſame apoſtle has it, 1 Cor. iv. 20. "The "kingdom of God is not in *word*, but in *power*;" of which power, and its coming from on high upon the apoſtles, read Acts i. 6, 7, 8.

For when they aſked Chriſt, "Lord, wilt thou at "this time reſtore the kingdom again to Iſrael," and that he told them, "It was not for them to know the "times or the ſeaſons, which the Father had put into "his own power;" he alſo adds, "But ye ſhall re-"ceive power after the Holy Ghoſt is come upon "you, and ye ſhall be witneſſes unto me, both in "Jeruſalem and Judea, and in Samaria, and in the "uttermoſt parts of the earth." This power was the kingdom of God, for it "*ſtands* in *power*," ſays the apoſtle: but it ſeems he thought fit to wave their queſtion, as to a direct anſwer, and left it a ſecret to be revealed unto them, when the Holy Ghoſt ſhould come, and the power from on high ſhould fall upon them: and thus he takes his leave of them, and is immediately received by a cloud out of their ſight.

Before I conclude this paragraph, I would obſerve, Firſt, That it was the *paſſover*, and *cuſtom* of the *Jews*, which, properly ſpeaking, we conceive hath no juſt

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plea to continue as a *goſpel-ordinance*, or inſtitution, ſince it was a type of him to *come*, and therefore ended, as to inſtitution, by his *coming*.

Secondly, That the evangeliſt John, the beloved diſciple, that lay in the boſom of Chriſt, does not ſo much as mention it, or water-baptiſm, as left by Chriſt, to be *continued* by his followers. Concerning the *Spirit*'s baptiſm, though he uſes not the *word* baptiſm, he is very full, John 14th, 16th, and 17th chapters, where he tells them, "That he would ſend them "the Comforter, the Spirit of Truth, to lead them "into all truth, and that he would dwell with them "*for ever*." I ſay, it ſeems very improbable, if not incredible, that what the biſhop ſtiles the 'Badges of 'Chriſtianity,' in his 17th paragraph, ſhould be wholly forgotten by ſo great an apoſtle of Chriſtianity.

Thirdly, And as the beloved diſciple ſays nothing of theſe *viſible ſigns*, which the biſhop calls the 'Badges 'of Chriſtianity,' ſo neither are they made an *article* of any of the ancient creeds extant, which certainly does not make for their credit or authority: ſince, had they been of that importance they are now by ſome eſteemed, we cannot think they would have been forgot by the compilers of thoſe creeds.

Fourthly, The apoſtle Paul, though he repeats the *tradition* he received of the Lord's ſupper, that night he was betrayed, does not *injoin* it; but as often as the Corinthians *did it*, he tells them, they ſhould do it in *remembrance* of Chriſt: which is as far from *commanding* it, as it would be, if the biſhop ſhould ſay to his friend, 'As often as he comes to *Cork*, he ſhould come 'and *eat* with him,' an obligation upon that perſon to come *often* to Cork. So that though the apoſtle bids them, that as often as they *did it*, they ſhould do it in remembrance of Chriſt, yet he does not thereby bid them do it *often*, if at all.

Fifthly, And whereas the biſhop would make it a *freſh* revelation to the apoſtle, when he ſays, "For I "have received of the Lord, that which alſo I deli-"vered unto you," I muſt diſſent from him. I cannot

not apprehend that means any more than this, 'That 'what account he had *received* of Chriſt's eating the 'ſupper with his diſciples, the night before he was 'betrayed, the ſame alſo he had delivered unto *them*:' for what need could there be of an *immediate revelation*, for ſo *late* a fact, ſo well witneſſed by the diſciples? But if my reader will peruſe that part of the chapter which relates to the ſupper, he will find the ſtreſs lies upon "*remembering* of the *Lord*," which is, indeed, our daily, indiſpenſable duty; and he that lives *without* it, may be ſaid "to live without *God* in the "world;" of which thoſe Corinthians at that time ſeemed ſo inſenſible, and as ſuch are ſeverely reproved by the apoſtle, being *irreverent*, *greedy*, and *drunken*, hardly fit for the *ſign*, and leſs able to diſcern the *thing ſignified*.

Sixthly, Nor does the apoſtle ſeem to recommend this practice, but rather reprehend the *abuſe* of it: and if my reader will look back to the foregoing chapter, from the beginning to the 18th verſe, he may find a more *ſpiritual* ſupper, and *myſtical* bread and cup, hinted at by the apoſtle, as well as Mat. xxvi. 29. Rev. iii. 20. by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf: which is, indeed, very copiouſly expreſſed by Luke, in the parable of the ſupper, chap. xiv. from the 16th to the 24th verſe, where one that was at meat with Chriſt, ſpeaking of the bleſſedneſs of eating of bread in the kingdom of God, Chriſt takes occaſion to ſhew forth the *goſpel-ſupper* by a parable, viz. "A certain man "made a great ſupper, and bid many, but they "refuſed, upon divers pretences, and came not: he "ſent out a ſecond and third time to invite an inferior "ſort of gueſts, and they came to the ſupper," that is, they received the *goſpel*, which is the power of God to ſalvation, and the evidence, as well as means, of it: which Chriſt in the 27th verſe farther expreſſes thus, viz. "And whoſoever doth not bear my croſs, "and follow me, cannot be my diſciple." Now "the "croſs of Chriſt," the ſame apoſtle alſo ſays, "is the "power of God," 1 Cor. i. 18. All which refers to

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an *inward* and *ſpiritual* work, and ſupper, and that they who *receive* Chriſt in ſpirit, *ſup* with him in ſpirit, being the partakers of his *ſpiritual ſupper*, which Chriſt promiſes, and prepares for all thoſe that open, at his knocks, the door of their hearts unto him, Rev. iii.

Seventhly, But beſides what I have ſaid, both from ſcripture, and the nature of the thing, in proof of Chriſt's ſpiritual ſupper, and defence of our diſuſe of the viſible *ſign*, the biſhop himſelf does the ſame thing, in relation to another ordinance: for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt did as ſolemnly command his diſciples to "waſh one another's *feet*," as to 'eat the *ſupper*.' The paſſage is large and edifying, and I muſt recommend to my reader, to peruſe his Bible, John xiii. But that part of it which more ſtrictly concerns this point, between the biſhop and me, I ſhall repeat here, verſes 12, 13, 14, 15. "So after he had waſhed their feet, "and taken his garments, and was ſet down again, he "ſaid unto them, Know ye what I have done to you? "Ye call me Maſter and Lord, and ye ſay well; for "ſo I am: if I, then, your Lord and Maſter, have "waſhed your feet, ye alſo ought to waſh one another's "feet: for I have given you an example that ye "ſhould do as I have done to you." Thus Chriſt commanded his diſciples, not only by his authority, but example. Now does the biſhop, and his friends, *follow* Chriſt's example, and *obey* this precept? He and they know they do not. What muſt I infer from thence, that the biſhop is *no Chriſtian?* I ſuppoſe he would take it very ill from me, though he has treated me, and my friends, after that ſort. But I will ſhew him a better example, and ſuppoſe he thinks, that if Chriſtian miniſters and people walk *humbly* towards God, and one with another, they *fulfil* this commandment, though they diſuſe the *ſign*, by which the Lord Jeſus expreſſed and recommended humility to his followers: now that which excuſes the biſhop, in reference to this ordinance of 'waſhing of feet,' will alſo excuſe our diſuſe of the *ſupper*, viz. 'Our eating of 'the ſpiritual bread and wine of the kingdom; the

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'thing *ſignified* by the outward ſupper.' But it is an error incident to frail man, to prefer the practice of thoſe things that have a ſhew of religion, and have leaſt of uneaſineſs, and of the nature of the croſs of Chriſt, in their performance. Juſt thus it is eaſier to receive the *ſupper*, than to be *humble*, if not eaſier than to *waſh feet*: for one is but a memorial of Chriſt, but the other, perhaps, is a reproach of the preſent practice, and, to be ſure, a command to *mortification* and *ſelf-denial*, the hardeſt leſſon in religion. And who knows but for that reaſon it has been dropped ſo long; ſince it muſt be very uneaſy for people to continue a cuſtom, to which their daily practice is ſo viſible a contradiction: though, I hear, the Roman biſhop *mocks* the text once a year.

Eighthly, But in relation to the ſupper, we farther ſay, the practice is varied; then they *ſat*; now one ſort *ſtands*; another *walks*; a third *kneels*; a fourth *lies down* upon the *ground*, as in the Eaſt-countries. The Romans have one opinion, the Greeks another; and the Lutherans and Calviniſts divide, to great bitterneſs, in their ſentiments about it.

Ninthly, Again, in thoſe days they were *diſciples*, ſuch as followed CHRIST; now *all* are admitted that profeſs *Chriſtianity*, though they do *not* follow him, or forſake any thing for his name-ſake, or keep any of his holy precepts, Matt. the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters.

Tenthly, Nor is this all we have to ſay, to juſtify our diſuſe of this practice: it is too much *looked at*, and *relied upon*, by the people: and, indeed, is become a kind of *Proteſtant extreme unction*: for if the generality of them can but have it adminiſtered juſt before they die, they are apt to preſume upon it for an acceptance in the other world. And, indeed, it is very frequent, if not natural, for many men to excuſe their diſobedience by *ſacrifice*; and where ceremonies, or ſhadowy ſervices, are continued, people reſt upon the obſervance of them, and indulge themſelves in the neglect of the doctrine of the *croſs* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. I need not look far, nor yet the biſhop, for a

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proof of what I ſay; we can hardly miſs, which way ſoever we throw our eyes, the more is the pity: and as this is no ſmall abuſe of primitive practice, ſo no ſmall argument for our diſuſe of it. For when the *brazen ſerpent* was *over-valued* by the Jews, God, that had commanded it for their benefit, ſtirred up Hezekiah to deſtroy it.

Eleventhly, Beſides, theſe things are become matter of *gain*, and made a *ſacerdotal revenue*, not to ſay *merchandize*; which has alſo helped to ſcandalize people of tender conſciences, who think it a profanation of religion, to ſuffer any part of it to be *exciſed* to the people, that ought to be *free*.

Twelfthly, But paſſing that by at preſent, and ſuppoſing water-baptiſm and the ſupper were not antiquated, but ſtill in force, who is there qualified to adminiſter them? Who has received a commiſſion, or the mind of the Holy Ghoſt, and power from on high to perform theſe things? For if thoſe that hold they are in force, have no divine force or authority to qualify them to adminiſter them, there will be but a lifeleſs imitation, inſtead of an edifying reality. Which leads me to what I promiſed long ſince, that I would, at the cloſe of this diſcourſe, ſay ſomething of the 'true ground of our difference and diſſent.'

I ſay then, that where we are ſuppoſed to differ moſt, we differ *leaſt*; and where we are believed to differ leaſt, we *moſt of all* differ: which I explain thus. It is generally thought, that we do not hold the common doctrines of Chriſtianity, but have introduced new and erroneous ones in lieu thereof: whereas we plainly and entirely believe the truths contained in the creed, that is commonly called *The Apoſtles*; which is very comprehenſive, as well as ancient. But that which hath affected our minds moſt, and engaged us in this ſeparation, was the great carnality and emptineſs, both of miniſters and people, under their profeſſion of religion: they having hardly "the *form* of "godlineſs," but, generally ſpeaking, "denying the

"*power* thereof;" from whom, the ſcripture warns believers to "*turn away.*"

Next, *miniſters* being made ſuch, and *preaching*, and the people *worſhipping*, without the *ſpirit*, confining the operations of it to the *firſt* or *apoſtolical* times, as if theſe did not want them as much, or that Chriſt would be leſs propitious, where his gifts were not leſs needful; I ſay, an human and lifeleſs miniſtry and worſhip, together with the great worldlineſs of profeſſors, have occaſioned our ſeparation; and the perſecution that has commonly followed it, hath abundantly confirmed our judgment in that matter. Hence it was we retired ourſelves to wait upon God together, according to the gift of his Holy Spirit; and, as the apoſtle Paul exhorted the Athenians, Acts xvii. 'We felt after 'him (with our *ſouls*) if by any means we might find 'him, and hear what God the Lord would ſay unto 'us, who ſpeaks peace unto his people, and his ſaints; 'but let them never turn to folly any more.' We could not, I ſay, tell how to think that ſuch as God had never ſent, but ran of *themſelves*, and were made miniſters by human learning and authority, not knowing the work of the ſpirit to their *own* regeneration, could poſſibly profit, or edify the people unto *their* regeneration: and yet *that* is the very work and end of the true goſpel-miniſtry; for no man can guide another in the way he himſelf never trod.

Beſides, we apprehend the *miniſtry* was very much a *temporal preferment*, and therefore few were to be found among them, that did not court the *better places*, I mean thoſe that gave the *greateſt pay*, and by thoſe methods mounted to *worldly wealth* and *honour*, as the reſt of the world did: turning *alms* into DUES, and, by law, making *gifts* RENTS; and vexing thoſe extremely, that, for conſcience-ſake, could not uphold them: which we thought very foreign to a primitive and apoſtolical ſpirit; and ſhort of a *true* and *thorough* reformation. This is not ſaid with any diſreſpect to their *perſons*, or yet *calling*, ſimply conſidered; "for "he that deſires the office of a biſhop, certainly de-

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"ſires a good thing;" but the *Holy Ghoſt*, in thoſe days, had the *making* of them; and the "good thing" then was their *ſervice*, and not *revenue*, or *worldly dignity*. They were then not only *no lords*, (ONE being their Lord) but they *lorded it not* over God's *clergy* or *heritage*, which was the PEOPLE in thoſe days, for ſo the word κλήρων ſignifies, though it is now aſcribed to the *miniſtry*. Then, the ground of prophecy, or miniſtry, was the *revelation* of the *ſpirit*, in thoſe ancient aſſemblies, as may be read, 1 Cor. xiv. 29, 30, 31, 32. "For *all* might *propheſy*," that is, *preach*, as the ſpirit of *God* moved upon *their* ſpirit, and gave them utterance, both for reproof, inſtruction, and conſolation: now, *ſtudy*, *collection*, and *memory*.

In thoſe days they preached their *own experience* of the work of God upon their hearts; but moſt now preach of the experiences of others, recorded in ſcriptures, but according to their own and others human apprehenſions. To be brief, we ground our conviction, converſion, miniſtry, prayer, and praiſe, upon the light and ſpirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as the powerful and effectual ſpring of our religious performances, and that alone which prepares the ſoul, and enables it to perform thoſe reſpective ſervices and duties in a manner acceptable to God. And that miniſtry and worſhip which ſtands *not* in the *ſpirit*, and is not performed in the preparation and inſpiration thereof, but according to the compilings, *traditions*, and *precepts* of *men*, we cannot allow to be primitive and evangelical, and conſequently cannot join in them. And we are ſatisfied that it is the good pleaſure of God, that all who profeſs the name of his dear, and only begotten, and well-beloved Son, ſhould acquaint themſelves with the ſpirit of his Son in their own hearts, in its reproof, inſtruction, conviction and conſolation, that they may become "*ſpiritually-minded*," ſuch as mind ſpiritual things more than earthly ones; and that daily "ſow to the ſpirit;" that is, bring forth the fruits of the ſpirit, and become the children of God, who are led by the ſpirit of God. "Now

"the fruit of the ſpirit is love, joy, peace, long-
"ſuffering, gentleneſs, goodneſs, faith, meekneſs,
"temperance: againſt ſuch there is no law. And
"they that are Chriſt's, have crucified the fleſh, with
"the affections and luſts thereof. But the works of
"the fleſh are manifeſt, which are theſe, adultery,
"fornication, uncleanneſs, laſciviouſneſs, idolatry,
"witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath,
"ſtrife, ſeditions, hereſies, envyings, murder, drun-
"kenneſs, revellings, and ſuch like: of which I
"told you before, as alſo in time paſt, that they
"which do ſuch things, ſhall not inherit the king-
"dom of God," Rom. viii. 6. 14. Gal. v. 16, to 24. chap. vi. 7, 8. And under theſe marks and directions all people may examine themſelves, and know their birth, family, and inheritance, whether they are the offspring of God, and true Chriſtians, or children of the evil one: thoſe that are born of the *ſpirit*, for whom is reſerved "an inheritance with the ſaints in "light," or the ſeed of evil-doers; for whom is reſerved the "blackneſs of darkneſs for ever." And truly it ſeems juſt with God, that thoſe who love darkneſs *better* than light in this world, ſhould have their *fill* of it in the next; from which, God Almighty redeem thee, reader, that thou mayeſt walk in his bleſſed light, as *he* is in the light, then thou wilt have "fellowſhip with the children of light, and the blood "of Jeſus Chriſt (the *great atonement*) ſhall cleanſe "thee from all ſin," 1 John i. 5, 6, 7. yea; "from "the filthineſs both of fleſh and ſpirit;" and being ſanctified throughout, in body and ſpirit, thou mayeſt live to ſerve God in the newneſs of his holy ſpirit, Rom. vii. 6. and come to be made a new man; that is *another* man: from a proud, an humble man; from a paſſionate, a patient man; from a rough, a meek man; and of a cruel, covetous, unjuſt, laſcivious, intemperate, vain and ungodly man, thou mayeſt become a merciful, liberal, juſt, chaſte, ſober, and godly man. And where this change, this new birth, or new creature, is not known, ſacrifices avail nothing, religion

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is but formality, and the peace of God will never be their recompence of reward. But they that walk after this bleſſed unerring rule of the new covenant, "peace "be on them, and mercy, and upon the Iſrael of "God," Gal. vi. 15, 16. "who are the circumciſion "made without hands, in putting off the body of the "ſins of the fleſh, by the circumciſion of Chriſt," "Col. iii. 11, even that of the heart, in the ſpirit, "whoſe praiſe is not of men, but of God," Rom. ii. 29. And who, therefore, "Worſhip God in the ſpi-"rit, and have no confidence in the fleſh," Phil. iii. 3. that is, in fleſhly ordinances, or the obſervation of figures and ſigns compounded of outward elements, which repreſent heavenly things: wherefore the apoſtle exhorted and commanded, Col. ii. 16, 17. "Let "no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in re-"ſpect of an holy-day, &c. which are ſhadows of "things to come, but the body is of Chriſt;" that is, Chriſt is the *ſubſtance* of all outward repreſentations, and they that have Chriſt, have the *end* of all thoſe things: who, reader, we labour and pray, may be better known, received and obeyed, by the profeſſors of his holy name and religion. That as he is given of God to be our prieſt, prophet, and king, we may all know, feel and enjoy him ſuch in ourſelves, and then the kingdom of God will be come in us, and his will done in our earth, as it is in heaven: which God grant, I moſt humbly beſeech him.

For the concluſion of the biſhop's paper, it is either *repetition* or *reflection*; the one needs no anſwer, and the other wants a defence. However, I will not have it ſaid that I either wave or ſuppreſs it, and therefore without any reflection I will conſider his: which ſhould have no weight with my reader, but againſt him.

He ſays in his 12th paragraph, 'He pities us, 'thinking many of us harmleſs and well-meaning, 'but under the power of ſtrong deluſions.' And in his 13th paragraph he gives us his ſenſe of the cauſe thereof, viz. 'That we make the light within, a rule 'of faith and practice, co-ordinate, if not ſuperior and

'antecedent, to the holy ſcripture.' To prove which to be our ſentiment, he cites theſe words out of our goſpel-truths, where ſpeaking of the Holy Spirit, and the ſcriptures, we ſay, "They are the double and "agreeing record of true religion." Now if the light and ſpirit *agree* with the ſcripture, there is no fear of *contradicting* the ſcripture, and ſo we can have nothing to anſwer for on our account of that expreſſion; for what *agrees* with the ſcripture, *eſtabliſhes* it, inſtead of ſlighting or ſuperſeding the authority of it.

And though we uſed no ſuch words as *co-ordinate*, much leſs *ſuperior* and *antecedent*, (which is the biſhop's gloſs, to render our moſt true and inoffenſive expreſſion ſuſpected, and make way to faſten his ſuppoſed *ſtrong deluſions* upon us) I will be very frank with him in this matter, that we believe the ſcripture to be the declaration of the *mind* of the Holy Ghoſt, and therefore not *ſuperior* to the Holy Ghoſt, but credited, confirmed, and expounded *by* the Holy Ghoſt; ſo that without the illumination of it, the ſcripture cannot be underſtood by them that read it. The grammatical and critical ſenſe of the words, and alluſions therein, *may* be underſtood; but the *inſide* and *ſpiritual ſignification* of them, is a riddle to thoſe that are not *ſpiritually inſtructed* therein, though they were ever ſuch grammarians or linguiſts.

Again, Chriſt ſays, "He that loves the light, brings "his deeds to the light, to ſee if they are wrought "in God," John iii. 21. which was before the New-Teſtament ſcripture was in *being*; and this makes it both *rule* and *judge* of the life and deeds of men. What ſays the biſhop to this? Alſo John xiv. 15, and 16th chapters, Chriſt promiſes, "*The ſpirit* to lead "them, *his people*, into all truth," and this was not the ſcripture, but ſomething at leaſt *co-ordinate*, if not *ſuperior* and *antecedent*, to the ſcripture, which is more than we ſaid before. Alſo the apoſtle Paul tells the Romans, chap. viii. "That as many as are *led* by the "ſpirit of God, they are the ſons of God:" then

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the ſpirit is to *lead* believers, or they cannot be the children of God. And that which leads, *rules*; and that which *rules*, is a *rule* to them that follow it. And the ſame apoſtle referred the Galatians, chap. vi. 15, 16. to the rule of the *new-creature* to walk by, and that muſt be the *ſpirit*, which *begets* the new creature, viz. "Chriſt formed in them," of whom he tells them, chap. iv. 19. He "travailed in birth again." And the beloved diſciple expreſly ſays to the Chriſtians in his firſt epiſtle, chap. ii. 20. "That they had "an *unction* from the Holy One, and they knew all "things;" that is, all things they had to believe, know, and practiſe. And verſe 27. he adds, "But "the anointing which ye have received abideth in "you, and ye need not that any man teach you, "but as the ſame anointing teacheth you of all "things, and is truth." If the biſhop will break through all theſe ſcriptures, to undervalue the light and ſpirit of Chriſt (for no other light or ſpirit do we aſſert, recommend people to, or contend for) that he might render us guilty of 'ſtrong deluſions,' I cannot help it, but muſt be truly ſorry for him. But I beſeech him to have a care that he does not, like the Jews of old, undervalue, and indeed blaſpheme againſt, the holy light and ſpirit of God, by miſ-calling the fruits and effects of its power, 'ſtrong deluſions, and transformations of Satan:' for God will not hold ſuch guiltleſs, in his great and terrible day of judgment.

And, after all, the beſt and firſt reformers and martyrs, as well as fathers, concur in our aſſertion and teſtimony: as Zuinglius, Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Beza, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and Eraſmus too: alſo our own excellent martyrs, viz. Lambert, Rogers, Philpot, Bradford, Hooper, Woodman, &c. 'That the 'double and agreeing teſtimony of the ſpirit of God 'within, and the ſcriptures of truth without, is the 'rule and judge of faith, doctrine and practice;' yea, 'That the ſpirit is given to believers, to be the *rule* 'and *judge*, by which they are to underſtand the true 'ſenſe and meaning of the ſcriptures.' Now let the

reader judge who gives the trueſt honour to the ſcripture, the biſhop, or the people called Quakers? *They*, that ſay, the ſcriptures have a *double* record, that is, the evidence of the ſpirit of truth in the hearts of believers, as well as their own: or the *biſhop*, who, by his way of treating us, and our principle, will allow us no other evidence of their truth, but *themſelves*? For to ſay, the evidence of the ſpirit of God, with that of the ſcripture, make a *double* and *agreeing* teſtimony, is, with him, 'to undervalue the ſcripture,' and the ground, in his apprehenſion, of our 'ſtrong 'deluſions.' It muſt be my turn to pity the biſhop, and truly I do it with all my heart, to ſee him ſtrain ſo ſound, as well as inoffenſive an expreſſion, as that which he makes the reaſon of our deluſion, that he might have an occaſion to leſſen our credit with the profeſſors of Chriſtianity, and eſpecially Proteſtants. Can it diſhonour the ſcripture, to aſſert the evidence of the *principal* and *author* of the ſcripture, to back the *authority* of the ſcripture? Or doth not *he*, rather, leſſen the authority of ſcripture, that will not allow us *another* evidence of the truth of ſcripture than its *own*, for fear of *co-ordinancy*, which was not ſo much as once intended to be inſinuated by us, nor do the words import any ſuch thing; yet it had been no *ſtrong*, nor *any*, deluſion at all, to give the Holy Ghoſt the *preference*. But I ſhall keep to the terms of the paper, whatever the biſhop is pleaſed to do; knowing that whoever concludes an argument in terms not in the queſtion, nor plainly deducible from the premiſes, is not a *fair* dealer in controverſy: in which the biſhop, if he pleaſes, may reaſonably enough think himſelf more than once concerned.

Bleſſed be God, we have known the power and efficacy of this holy light and ſpirit of Chriſt in ourſelves; and being in good meaſure witneſſes thereof, we do not only ſpeak by report, but by experience. We had the *ſcriptures*, in the days of our ignorance, and worldly-mindedneſs; but diſregarding the reproofs and inſtruction of the *light* of *Jeſus* in our *hearts*,

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we never could come to know the *power* of thoſe truths the ſcripture *declares of*. But when it pleaſed God, in the riches of his love, to cauſe his bleſſed light, that had ſhined *in* darkneſs, and the darkneſs comprehended it not, to ſhine *out of* darkneſs, and give us the knowledge of himſelf in the *face* (or through the *manifeſtation*) of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, we ſaw and bewailed ourſelves, and, by an unfeigned ſorrow and repentance, returned, as penitent prodigals, towards our father's houſe, and in this turn, we were brought to die daily to that love and ſatisfaction we once had in the glory, pleaſures, honours, friendſhips and diverſions of the world, which now became *burdenſome*, more than ever they were pleaſing to us.

Hence it was, and from no ſiniſter ends or ſelf-righteous conceits, that we became an altered and a diſtinguiſhed people, in our behaviour, garb and converſation; more *retired*, *watchful*, *ſilent*, and *plain*, than formerly; equally avoiding *luxury* and *avarice*. I ſay, it was the work of God's ſpirit upon our hearts, who, by his light, gave us to ſee the juſt difference of things, and to diſtinguiſh between that which pleaſed him, and that which pleaſed him not. And this holy pattern he gave us in the light of his beloved Son, which we deſign to follow, as did the holy ancients; and is a full anſwer to the biſhop's unfriendly queries upon our diſtinguiſhing behaviour, in his 14th and 15th paragraphs, as if it were not out of fear towards God, or upon a conſcientious bottom, but to ſerve a worldly turn? For he aſks us, 'Is it not your *main* 'aim, *end*, and *ſtudy*, by *pretended* mortifications, to 'make yourſelves a party conſiderable?' Again, 'Are 'not to this purpoſe your different garb, ſpeech, looks 'and geſtures, and to make yourſelves remarkable, 'rather than out of a ſenſe of duty, or conſcience of 'obligation?' Which, as it is the worſt conſtruction that the moſt irreligious and prophane could make upon our behaviour, ſo I beſeech God to forgive the biſhop, and make him ſenſible how little ſuch treatment of ſtrict and ſober living advances the common cauſe of

of religion, and how much it indulges thoſe, that know no reins or check to their exceſſes, in his own church. But to go no farther than the *biſhop* and his *clergy*, pray who diſtinguiſh themſelves more by their *garb* from other people than *they*? Though I cannot ſay as much of their behaviour. So, indeed, did the *Chemarims*, or *Black-coats*, of old, and thoſe that wore *long robes* in our Saviour's time; but, as I take it, they went not without his cenſure, while I think the biſhop will find none in ſcripture againſt our plainneſs. But the biſhop's pontifical robes, do, in my opinion, look much more like *ſingularity* and a *ſight* than ours; for our garb is like other mens, only freed of their ſuperfluity. In ſhort, I wiſh him a better underſtanding of the true grounds of our ſtricter conduct, and where and who they are that make a *trade* of religion; that if he has any ſhot left againſt *mercenary* religioniſts, he may not miſs the mark next time, but may make it his *main aim*, *end*, and *ſtudy*, to expoſe hirelings and hypocrites in their proper colours: and ſome are of opinion he need not go far to find too many of them.

It is ſtrange the biſhop ſhould be ſo inſenſible of the advantage he gives me by his *queries*, and what a wide door he opens to a ſevere retaliation; but I deſire to be modeſt; and to be *ſilent* upon ſuch advantages, is, I think, to be abundantly ſo.

Howbeit, I muſt take notice of one expreſſion, for it may too ſeriouſly affect us not to be obſerved to him. When he aſks, 'If it be not our main end and ſtudy, 'by pretended mortifications, to make ourſelves a 'party conſiderable?' He adds, 'And ſuch to which, '*for reaſons of ſtate*, peculiar privileges muſt be indul-'ged.' If this were not more than mockery, I ſhould wave my notice; but calling the meaning of the government in queſtion about the *liberty of conſcience* we enjoy, he muſt forgive me if I beſtow a few remarks upon that expreſſion. It ſeems, then, our liberty flows not from the inclination of the government to liberty, leſs from compaſſion, and leaſt of all

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from juſtice and a Chriſtian principle. Which motives carry with them a proſpect of the continuance of liberty, if not for liberty's ſake. But the biſhop believes no ſuch thing; and if he would not have us of his mind, he did weakly to tell us ſo. Well, then, we are all of us to take his advertiſement, that our liberty holds but by ſlender threads, and a *reaſon of ſtate*, and not of nature, right, or Chriſtianity; which certainly is not to beſpeak this *conſiderable party* to the advantage of the government: and for which I think the biſhop a very moderate ſtateſman, and the government as little beholden to his *politicks*, as we are to his *charity*. However, we will have a better opinion of our ſuperiors regard to liberty, and conclude that their inclination equals their diſcretion, and that their judgment, as well as prudence, is on that ſide, let the biſhop ſay what he pleaſes. And though he deſerves it not at my hands, I could almoſt perſuade myſelf to think that he does not begrudge it us, and means not ſo looſely as he writes. But be it as it will, that God, that has upheld us by his free ſpirit to this day, through many and great afflictions, we firmly believe will ſuffer nothing to attend us, that ſhall not in the concluſion work for his glory and our good, if we continue ſteadfaſt to the end, in the bleſſed way of righteouſneſs, wherein he has ſo often and ſignally owned and preſerved us; notwithſtanding the violence of open enemies, and the treacherous and reſtleſs endeavours of falſe friends.

His ſixteenth paragraph multiplies reflection, as before obſerved, and repeats what I have already largely anſwered; particularly, that we own the Chriſtian faith, which he makes us to wave, ſuppreſs, or at leaſt not to confeſs; and have expreſſed it, even in the paper he has faulted ſo much of ſhortneſs, and that more fully, in all points, than in the creed commonly called the Athanaſian; except that about the Trinity, which ſeems to me *leſs* plain by that *copious way* taken to explain it.

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He alſo ſays, 'We reject all outward, poſitive parts 'of worſhip,' which we deny: for we own and uſe prayer, preaching, and praiſing, in the Spirit, *without* which they cannot be owned or joined with; for they cannot be ſo performed to edification by a true Chriſtian worſhipper; ſince God, who *is* a Spirit, will be *worſhipped* in ſpirit, and in truth, which Chriſt's Spirit muſt enable us to perform: and ſuch worſhippers *only*, God the Father ſeeks to worſhip him; implying, he regards not *other* worſhippers.

'But, eſpecially,' the biſhop ſays, 'we reject bap-'tiſm and the ſupper.' We ſay, we do not *reject*, but *diſuſe* the ſigns, becauſe we felt the *inviſible graces* in our *ſouls* they were *ſigns* and *ſhadows* of; and therefore, not in *diſreſpect* to the *ſigns*, but in *reverence* to the *divine ſubſtance* they ſhew forth, we diſcontinue their *uſe* among us. They obtained place in the *infancy* and *twilight* of the church; in her more weak and ceremonious time, directing, as I may ſay, that *interregnum* between the law and the goſpel, before the diſpenſation of the Holy Ghoſt had *fully* obtained place and pre-eminence in the church. But of this I have been already very particular.

He grows *warm* in his 17th paragraph, and *epiſcopal*; for he ſays, 'In a word, I again *require you*, as you 'will anſwer all your *ſecret arts* and *pretenſions* at 'Chriſt's tribunal, *that you either embrace and profeſs* 'the entire *Chriſtian truth*, in the points wherein I have 'ſhewn you to be defective; and that you receive the 'Chriſtian *ſeals* or *badges*, *baptiſm*, and the *Lord's ſup-'per*; or elſe that you *deſiſt* to lay claim to the name 'of Chriſtians.'

But firſt I muſt return the biſhop his *ſecret arts* and *pretenſions*, in all which he is grievouſly miſtaken. For either I do not underſtand his meaning, or I abhor it. Next, be it known to him, we *wave not*, we *ſuppreſs not*, but heartily embrace and profeſs, before the whole world, all points of Chriſtian doctrine, according to the mind of the Holy Ghoſt, as I have amply

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ſignified before upon this ſubject: and where the biſhop takes leave of the text, he muſt excuſe me if I leave *him*, to keep company with it. We did not entitle our paper "*All Goſpel-Truths*," but "*Goſpel-Truths*," which extended ſo far as we were taxed with error about thoſe truths: and yet he muſt have but a little charity that will not allow a believer and follower of thoſe truths to be a Chriſtian. Nor, indeed, has the biſhop given us the articles of faith he ſays we *wave* or *ſuppreſs*, or told us his *own*, or that *one church's* faith he would have us receive, as I have complained already. But that the biſhop ſhould forbid us ſo much as to lay claim to the name of *Chriſtians*, unleſs we will practiſe what *he* calls the *ſeals* or *badges* of Chriſtianity, (which *divers* churches in *Chriſtendom* think he *miſuſes*) is very uncharitable and dogmatical. But, beſides what I have ſaid at large in our excuſe and defence in that matter, he produces not one ſcripture that calls them either *ſeals* or *badges*. But yet there are other things that *are* ſo repreſented by our bleſſed Saviour and his apoſtles, which he takes no notice of. As Matt. xvi. 24. where, they that will be reputed Chriſt's diſciples muſt take up his *croſs*, and follow him. Chriſt's *croſs* is a Chriſtian's *badge* and *ſeal* of diſcipleſhip. Again, John xiii. 35. He ſaid to his diſciples, "By this ſhall all men know "that ye are my diſciples, if ye *love* one another." Likewiſe Matt. xxv. 34, 35, 36. The diſtinguiſhing character of the laſt day is not water-baptiſm and the outward ſupper, but *love*, *mercy*, and *compaſſion*; *bowels* and *charity*; not being *aſhamed* or *afraid* of owning and helping the Lord's ſervants in their afflictions, viz. "I was an hungry, and ye gave me meat: I was thirſty, "and ye gave me drink: I was a ſtranger, and ye "took me in: naked, and ye clothed me: I was ſick, "and ye viſited me: I was in priſon, and ye came "unto me." *This* is the Chriſtian *badge* that will be recognized by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt at the laſt day: we have his own word for it. In all which he is ſo far

far from mentioning either of the other badges, that Luke xiii. he brings in the *unhappy*, that are on his left-hand, uſing this argument to engage him to receive them into bleſſedneſs, viz. "We have *eaten* and "*drank* in thy preſence, and thou haſt taught in our "ſtreets." A plain inſtance they had the uſe of ſuch ordinances as the biſhop reputes badges of Chriſtianity; but it is as plain that ſuch pleas would not do: for, behold, the Lord Jeſus ſays unto them in the parable, "I know you not, depart from me, ye workers of "iniquity!" I recommend the peruſal of the following verſes to my reader, which confirm my ſenſe of the text: for he ſpoke to an *outſide* people, that counted themſelves the people of God, and were obſervers of *meats* and *drinks*, and *divers waſhings*: and that which was doctrine and caution then, is doctrine and caution now; for truth holds the ſame to the end.

I might add, *holineſs*, for a characteriſtick, "without which no man ſhall ever ſee the Lord;" and that "neither circumciſion availeth any thing, nor "uncircumciſion, but a new creature," Gal. v. 6. Alſo, the fruits of the Spirit, chap. 5. among which there is not one word about *water-baptiſm*, or the *outward ſupper*, with many more paſſages that are cloſe and cogent.

His eighteenth and laſt paragraph tells us, 'He will 'not judge us,' and yet his whole paper is but one continued judgment of us: 'but, from *God*,' as he ſays, 'and, as *his* miniſter, he bids us judge ourſelves.' Firſt, We thank God we are before-hand with the biſhop, having judged ourſelves, and that by the judgment of God upon us, and ſo have right to judge others according to that judgment. Secondly, We have no proof that the biſhop ſpeaks from God to us: nor can I tell how he ſhould, that does not acknowledge the inſpeaking word of God in the ſoul. Thirdly, For his being God's miniſter, he has not ſhewn us his commiſſion yet, and I fear it will not be from heaven, whenever he does. But if my reader will take

the

the pains of peruſing this very paragraph, he will not only ſee a judging ſpirit, but that the biſhop holds out abuſing us to the laſt, rendering us as bad as bad can be, viz. 'That we ſubvert the faith once delivered 'to the ſaints, and equal our conceits to the divine 'oracles, uſing and diſuſing what parts of God's in-'ſtituted worſhip we pleaſe;' adding, 'I will not in-'terpoſe your making *gain* your godlineſs.' But, as I have already taken ample notice of this charge, ſo I ſhall ſay no more of his irreligious ſlant at our ſincerity than this, that I cannot pretend to tell the biſhop what tribe of men, in Chriſtendom, it is that have long made gain their godlineſs, and the pretence of it their worldly inheritance; ſince he has been ſo much more ſenſibly inſtructed in this affair than myſelf: but one thing I am ſure of, that if *gain*, and not godlineſs, was our motive to be the people we are, we mightily miſtook our *way* when we *left* the *biſhop*'s: for *afflictions*, *ſpoils*, *priſons*, *baniſhments*, yea, and *death* itſelf, have attended us, ſince God was pleaſed to manifeſt his truth to us: and if, under all thoſe calamities that have followed us ſince we were a people, for the ſake of our unfaſhionable profeſſion, the biſhop, or any elſe, is ſo unnatural, as to envy us the bleſſing of God upon our honeſt induſtry, and to render that which is an effect of God's goodneſs, the reaſon and end of our religion, God forgive them. I could enlarge upon this topick, but time would fail, and the diſcourſe ſwell beyond bounds, as indeed it hath already, beyond my expectation; for which I ſhould excuſe myſelf to my reader, but that it was not ſimply from the regard I had to the biſhop's ſheet, ſince that could not have deſerved this notice from me, but might have been anſwered as conciſely as that was written, had I only conſidered his undertaking and treatment, and not my reader's ſatisfaction, in the better knowledge of our ſo much miſrepreſented perſuaſion: eſpecially in a nation, where of late I had occaſion ſo generally to travel, and the biſhop's paper hath been

been, I ſuppoſe, as generally diſperſed. I owe it, therefore, to my profeſſion, to myſelf, and to the country, to vindicate the one, and to expreſs my Chriſtian regard and acknowledgment to the other; having received a more than common civility from the inhabitants in general: to whom I wiſh, as to my own ſoul, the ſaving knowledge of the truth, as it is in Jeſus: that Chriſtians indeed, and at heart, they may be, to the glory of God their Creator, and the eternal ſalvation of their ſouls, through Jeſus Chriſt, the alone Redeemer; to whom with the Father, by the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour and glory, thankſgiving, and praiſe, world without end.

THE

THE

ADVICE

OF

WILLIAM PENN

TO HIS

CHILDREN,

RELATING TO THEIR

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS CONDUCT.

Published in the Year 1699.

CHILDREN

OF

WILLIAM PENN

ADVICE TO CHILDREN.

CHAP. I.

My Dear Children,

§. 1. NOT knowing how long it may pleaſe God to continue me amongſt you, I am willing to embrace this opportunity of leaving you my advice and counſel, with reſpect to your Chriſtian and civil capacity and duty in this world: and I both beſeech you and charge you, by the relation you have to me, and the affection I have always ſhewn to you, and indeed received from you, that you lay up the ſame in your hearts, as well as your heads, with a wiſe and religious care.

§. 2. I will begin with that which is the beginning of all true wiſdom and happineſs, the holy fear of God.

Children, Fear God: that is to ſay, have an holy awe upon your minds to avoid that which is evil, and a ſtrict care to embrace and do that which is good. The meaſure and ſtandard of which knowledge and duty, is the light of Chriſt in your conſciences, by which, as in John iii. 20, 21, you may clearly ſee if your deeds, aye, and your words and thoughts too, are wrought in God or not; for they are the deeds of the mind, and for which you muſt be judged: I ſay, with this divine light of Chriſt in your conſciences, you may bring your thoughts, words, and works to judgment in yourſelves, and have a right, true, ſound, and unerring ſenſe of your duty towards God and man. And as you come to obey this bleſſed light in its holy convictions, it will lead you out of the world's dark and degenerate ways and works, and bring you unto Chriſt's way and life, and to be of the number of his true ſelf-denying followers, to take up your croſs for his ſake, that bore his for yours; and to become the children of the light,

putting it on, as your holy armour; by which you may ſee and reſiſt the fiery darts of ſatan's temptations, and overcome him in all his aſſaults.

§. 3. I would a little explain this principle to you. It is called *light*, John i. 9. chap. iii. 19, 20, 21, and chap. viii. 12. Eph. v. 8, 13, 14. 1 Theſ. v. 5. 1 Epiſtle of John i. 5, 6, 7. Rev. xxi. 23. becauſe it gives man a ſight of his ſin. And it is alſo called the quickening *ſpirit*; for ſo HE is called; and the Lord from heaven, as 1 Cor. xv. 45, 57, who is called, and calls himſelf, the light of the world, John viii. 12. And why is he called the *Spirit?* Becauſe he gives man ſpiritual life. And John xvi. 8. Chriſt promiſed to ſend his ſpirit to convince the world of their ſins: wherefore that which convinces you and all people of their ſins, is the Spirit of Chriſt: this is highly prized, Rom. viii. as you may read in that great and ſweet chapter, for the children of God are led by it. This reveals the things of God, that appertain to man's ſalvation and happineſs, as 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11, 12. It is the earneſt God gives his people, 2 Cor. v. 5. It is the great end and benefit and bleſſing of the coming of Chriſt, viz. The ſhining forth of this light, and pouring forth of this ſpirit. Yea, Chriſt is not received by them, that reſiſt his light and Spirit in their hearts; nor can they have the benefit of his birth, life, death, reſurrection, interceſſion, &c. who rebel againſt the light. "God "ſent his Son to bleſs us, in turning us from the evil "of our ways:" therefore have a care of evil, for that turns you away from God; and wherein you have done evil, do ſo no more: but be ye turned, my dear children, from that evil, in thought, as well as in word or deed, or that will turn you from God, your Creator, and Chriſt, whom he has given you for your Redeemer; who redeems and ſaves his people from their ſins, Tit. ii. 14. not *in* their ſins, read Acts ii. and Heb. viii. and the Chriſtian diſpenſation will appear to be that of the Spirit, which ſin quenches, hardens the heart againſt, and bolts the door upon. This holy divine principle is called grace too, 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12, there

you

you will ſee the nature and office of it, and its bleſſed effects upon thoſe that were taught of it in the primitive days. And why grace? Becauſe it is God's love, and not our deſert, his good-will, his kindneſs. "He "ſo loved the world, that he gave his only begotten "Son into the world, that whoſoever believeth in him "ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life," John iii. 16. And it is this holy Son, that in John i. 14, 16. is declared to be "full of grace and truth," and that "of "*his* grace we receive grace for grace;" that is, we receive of him, the FULNESS, what meaſure of grace we need. And the Lord told Paul in his great trials, when ready to ſtagger about the ſufficiency of the grace he had received to deliver him, "My grace is "ſufficient for thee." 2 Cor. xii. 9. O children, love the grace, hearken to this grace; it will teach you, it will ſanctify you, it will lead you to the reſt and kingdom of God; as it taught the ſaints of old, firſt, what to deny, viz. "To deny ungodlineſs and worldly luſts;" and then what to do, viz. "To live ſoberly, righteouſly, "and godly in this preſent world," Tit. ii. 11, 12. And he that is full of grace, is full of light; and he that is full of light is the quickening Spirit, that gives a manifeſtation of his Spirit to every one to profit with, 1 Cor. xii. 7. And he that is the quickening Spirit, is the truth. "I am the way, the truth, and the life," ſaid he, to his poor followers, John xiv. 6. "And if "the truth make you free," ſaid he to the Jews, "then "are you free indeed," John viii. 32, 36. And this truth ſheds abroad itſelf in man, and begets truth in the inward parts, and makes falſe, rebellious, hypocritical man, a true man to God again. Truth in the inward parts is of great price with the Lord. And why called TRUTH? Becauſe it tells man the truth of his ſpiritual ſtate; it ſhews him his ſtate, deals plainly with him, and ſets his ſins in order before him. So that, my dear children, the light, ſpirit, grace, and truth are not divers principles, but divers words, or denominations, given to one eternal POWER and heavenly PRINCIPLE *in* you, though not *of* you, but of

God, according to the manifeſtation or operation thereof in the ſervants of God of old time: light, to diſcover and give diſcerning: ſpirit, to quicken and enliven: grace, to wit, the love of God: truth, becauſe it tells man the truth of his condition, and redeems him from the error of his ways: ſo that as darkneſs, death, ſin, and error, are the ſame; light, ſpirit, grace, and truth, are the ſame.

§. 4. This is that which is come by Chriſt, and a meaſure of this light, ſpirit, grace, and truth, is given to every man and woman to ſee their way to go by. This is that which diſtinguiſhes friends from all other ſocieties, as they are found walking in the ſame, which leads out of vain honours, compliments, luſts, and pleaſures of the world.

O, my dear children, this is the pearl of price; part with all for it, but never part with it for all the world. This is the goſpel leaven, to leaven you, that is, ſanctify and ſeaſon you in body, ſoul, and ſpirit, to God your heavenly Father's uſe and ſervice, and your own laſting comfort. Yea, this is the divine and incorruptible ſeed of the kingdom; of which all truly regenerate men and women, Chriſtians of Chriſt's making, are born. Receive it into your hearts, give it room there, let it take deep root in you, and you will be fruitful unto God in every good word and work. As you take heed to it, and the holy enlightenings and motions of it, you will have a perfect diſcerning of the ſpirit of this world, in all its appearances, in yourſelves and others; the motions, temptations, and workings of it, as to pride, vanity, covetouſneſs, revenge, uncleanneſs, hypocriſy, and every evil way; you will ſee the world in all its ſhapes and features, and you will be able to judge the world by it, and the ſpirit of the world, in all its appearances: you will ſee, as I have done, that there is much to deny, much to ſuffer, and much to do: and you will ſee that there is no power or virtue, but in the light, ſpirit, grace, and truth of Chriſt, to carry you through the world to God's glory and your everlaſting peace. Yea, you will ſee what religion is from above,

above, and what is from below; what is of God's working, and of man's making and forcing; alſo what miniſtry is of his Spirit and giving, and what of man's ſtudying, framing, and impoſing. You will, I ſay, diſcern the riſe, nature, tokens and fruits of the true from the falſe miniſtry, and what worſhip is ſpiritual, and what carnal; and what honour is of God, and what that honour is which is from below, of men, yea, fallen men, that the Jews and the world ſo generally love, and which is ſpoken againſt in John v. 44. You will ſee the vain and evil communication, that "cor-"rupts good manners;" the ſnares of much company and buſineſs, and eſpecially the danger of the friend-ſhip of this preſent evil world. And you will alſo ſee, that the teſtimony the eternal God hath brought our poor friends unto, as to religion, worſhip, truth-ſpeaking, miniſtry, plainneſs, ſimplicity, and mode-ration, in apparel, furniture, food, ſalutation, as you may read in their writings, from the very beginning, is a true and heavenly teſtimony of his mind, will, work, and diſpenſation in this laſt age of the world to mankind, being the revival of true primitive Chriſti-anity: where your moſt tender father prays that you may be kept, and charges you to watch, that you may be preſerved in the faith and practice of that bleſſed teſtimony; and count it no ſmall mercy from God, nor honour to you, that you come of parents that counted nothing too dear or near to part with, nor too great to do or ſuffer, that they might approve themſelves to God, and teſtify their love to his moſt precious truth in the inward parts, in their generation. And I do alſo charge you, my dear children, to retain in your re-membrance thoſe worthy ancients in the work of Chriſt, which remained alive to your day and memory, and yet remain to your knowledge; more eſpecially that man of God, and prince in Iſrael, the firſt-born and be-gotten of *our* day and age of truth, and the firſt and the great early inſtrument of God amongſt us, George Fox: and what you have heard, ſeen and obſerved, of thoſe heavenly worthies, their holy wiſdom, zeal, love,

labours, and ſufferings, and particular tenderneſs to you, treaſure up for your children after you, and tell them what you have heard, ſeen, and known, of the ſervants and work of God, and progreſs thereof, as an holy, exemplary, and edifying tradition unto them. And be ſure that you forſake not the aſſembling yourſelves with God's people, as the manner of ſome was, Heb. x. 25, and is at this day, eſpecially among young people, the children of ſome friends, whom the love of this preſent evil world hath hurt and cooled in their love to God and his truth. But do you keep cloſe to meetings, both for worſhip and buſineſs of the church, when of an age and capacity proper for it; and that not out of novelty, formality, or to be ſeen of men, but in pure fear, love, and conſcience to God, your Creator, as the publick, juſt, and avowed teſtimony of your duty and homage to him. In which be exemplary, both by timely coming, and a reverent and ſerious deportment during the aſſembly; in which be not weary, or think the time long till it be over, as ſome did of the ſabbaths of old time; but let your eye be to him you come to wait upon and ſerve, and do what you do as to him, and he will be your refreſhment and reward; for you ſhall return with the ſeals and pledges of his love, mercy, and bleſſings.

§. 5. Above all things, my dear children, as to your communion and fellowſhip with friends, be careful to keep the unity of the faith in the bond of peace. Have a care of reflectors, detractors, backbiters, that undervalue and undermine brethren behind their backs, or ſlight the good and wholeſome order of truth, for the preſerving things quiet, ſweet, and honourable in the church. Have a care of novelties, and airy changeable people, the conceited, cenſorious, and puffed up, who at laſt have always ſhewn themſelves to be clouds without rain, and wells without water, that will rather diſturb and break the peace and fellowſhip of the church, where they dwell, than not have their wills and ways take place, I charge you, in the fear of the living God, that you carefully beware of all ſuch: mark them, as the apoſtle ſays, Rom. xvi. 17, and

have

have no fellowship with them; but to adviſe, exhort, intreat, and finally reprove them, Eph. v. 11. For God is, and will be, with his people in this holy diſpenſation we are now under, and which is now amongſt us, unto the end of days: it ſhall grow and increaſe in gifts, graces, power, and luſtre, for it is the laſt and unchangeable one: and bleſſed are your eyes, if they ſee it, and your ears if they hear it, and your hearts if they underſtand it; which I pray that you may, to God's glory, and your eternal comfort.

§. 6. Having thus expreſſed myſelf to you, my dear children, as to the things of God, his truth and kingdom, I refer you to his light, grace, ſpirit, and truth within you, and the holy ſcriptures of truth without you, which from my youth I loved to read, and were ever bleſſed to me; and which I charge you to read daily; the OLD TESTAMENT, for hiſtory chiefly; the PSALMS, for meditation and devotion; the PROPHETS, for comfort and hope, but eſpecially the NEW TESTAMENT, for doctrine, faith, and worſhip: for they were given forth by holy men of God in divers ages, as they were moved of the holy Spirit; and are the declared and revealed mind and will of the holy God to mankind under divers diſpenſations, and they are certainly able to make the man of God perfect, through faith, unto ſalvation; being ſuch a true and clear teſtimony to the ſalvation that is of God, through Chriſt, the ſecond Adam, the light of the world, the quickening Spirit, who is full of grace and truth; whoſe *light*, *grace*, *ſpirit*, and *truth*, bear witneſs to *them*, in every ſenſible ſoul; as *they* frequently, plainly, and ſolemnly, bear teſtimony to the light, ſpirit, grace and truth, both in *himſelf*, and in and to his *people*, to their ſanctification, juſtification, redemption, and conſolation; and in *all* men, to their viſitation, reproof, and conviction in their evil ways. I ſay, having thus expreſſed myſelf in general, I refer you, my dear children, to the light and ſpirit of Jeſus, that is *within* you, and to the ſcriptures of truth *without* you, and ſuch other teſtimonies to the one ſame eternal truth as have been borne in our day; and

and ſhall now deſcend to particulars, that you may more directly apply what I have ſaid in general, both as to your religious and civil direction in your pilgrimage upon earth.

CHAP. II.

§. 1. I Will begin here, alſo, with the beginning of time, the morning: ſo ſoon as you wake, retire your mind into a pure ſilence from all thoughts and ideas of worldly things, and in that frame wait upon God, to feel his good preſence to lift up your hearts to him, and commit your whole ſelf into his bleſſed care and protection. Then riſe, if well, immediately: being dreſt, read a chapter, or more in the ſcriptures, and afterwards diſpoſe yourſelves for the buſineſs of the day; ever remembering that God is preſent, the overſeer of all your thoughts, words, and actions; and demean yourſelves, my dear children, accordingly; and do not you dare to do that in his holy all-ſeeing preſence, which you would be aſhamed a man, yea, a child, ſhould ſee you do. And as you have intervals from your lawful occaſions, delight to ſtep home, within *yourſelves*, I mean, and commune with your own hearts, and be ſtill; and, as Nebuchadnezzar ſaid on another occaſion, "*One like the Son of God*," you ſhall find and enjoy, '*with* you and *in* you: a treaſure the 'world knows not of, but is the aim, end, and diadem 'of the children of God.' This will bear you up againſt all temptations, and carry you ſweetly and evenly through your day's buſineſs, ſupporting you under diſappointments, and moderating your ſatisfaction in ſucceſs and proſperity. The evening come, read again the holy ſcripture, and have your times of retirement, before you cloſe your eyes, as in the morning; that ſo the Lord may be the alpha and omega of every day of your lives. And if God bleſs you with families, remember good Joſhua's reſolution, Joſh. xxiv. 15. "But

" But as for me and my houſe, we will ſerve the " Lord."

§. 2. Fear God; ſhew it in deſire, refraining, and doing: keep the inward watch, keep a clear ſoul and a light heart. Mind an inward *ſenſe* upon doing any thing: when you read the ſcripture, remark the notableſt places, as your ſpirits are moſt touched and affected, in a common-place book, with that ſenſe, or opening, which you receive; for they come not by ſtudy, or in the will of man, no more than the ſcripture did; and they may be loſt by careleſſneſs, and overgrowing thoughts and buſineſſes of this life: ſo in purſuing any other good or profitable book: yet rather meditate, than read much. For the Spirit of a man knows the things of a man; and with that ſpirit, by obſervation of the tempers and actions of men you ſee in the world, and looking into your own ſpirit, and meditating thereupon, you will have a deep and ſtrong judgment of men and things. For from what may be, what ſhould be, and what is moſt probable or likely to be, you can hardly miſs in your judgment of human affairs; and you have a *better* Spirit than your own, in reſerve for a time of need, to paſs the final judgment in important matters.

§. 3. In converſation, mark well what others ſay or do, and hide your own mind, at leaſt till laſt; and then open it as ſparingly as the matter will let you. A juſt obſervance and reflection upon men and things, gives wiſdom; thoſe are the great books of learning, ſeldom read. The laborious bee draws honey from every flower. Be always on your watch, but chiefly in company; then be ſure to have your wits about you, and your armour on: ſpeak laſt and little, but to the point. Interrupt none, anticipate none, read Prov. x. 8, 13. " Be " quick to hear, ſlow to ſpeak," Prov. xvii. 27. It gives time to underſtand, and ripens an anſwer. Affect not words, but matter; and chiefly to be pertinent and plain: trueſt eloquence is plaineſt; and brief ſpeaking (I mean, brevity and clearneſs, to make yourſelves

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eaſily underſtood by every body, and in as few words as the matter will admit of) is the beſt.

§. 4. Prefer the aged, the virtuous, and the knowing; and chuſe thoſe that excel for your company and friendſhip; but deſpiſe not others.

§. 5. Return no anſwer to any, unleſs with much meekneſs, which often turns it away: but rarely make replies, leſs rejoinders; for that adds fuel to the fire. It is a wrong time to vindicate yourſelves, the true ear being then never open to hear it. Men are not themſelves, and know not well what ſpirits they are of: ſilence to paſſion, prejudice and mockery, is the beſt anſwer, and often conquers what reſiſtance inflames.

§. 6. Learn, and teach your children, fair writing, and the moſt uſeful parts of mathematicks; and ſome buſineſs when young, whatever elſe they are taught.

§. 7. Caſt up your income, and live on half; if you can, one third; reſerving the reſt for caſualties, charities, portions.

§. 8. Be plain in clothes, furniture and food, but clean; and then the coarſer the better; the reſt is folly, and a ſnare. Therefore next to ſin, avoid daintineſs and choiceneſs about your perſon and houſes. For if it be not an evil in itſelf, it is a temptation to it; and may be accounted a neſt for ſin to brood in.

§. 9. Avoid differences: what are not avoidable, refer; and keep awards ſtrictly, and without grudgings. Read Prov. xviii. 17, 18. xxv. 8. Matt. v. 38 to 41. 1 Cor. i. 10, to 13. It is good counſel.

§. 10. Be ſure draw your affairs into as narrow a compaſs as you can, and in method and proportion, time, and other requiſites proper for them.

§. 11. Have very few acquaintance, and fewer intimates, but of the beſt in their kind.

§. 12. Keep your own ſecrets, and do not covet others: but if truſted, never reveal them, unleſs miſchievous to ſomebody; nor then, before warning to

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the party to deſiſt and repent. Prov. xi. 13. c. ii. 23. c. xxv. 9. 10.

§. 13. Truſt no man with the main chance, and avoid to be truſted.

§. 14. Make few reſolutions, but keep them ſtrictly.

§. 15. Prefer elders and ſtrangers on all occaſions: be rather laſt, than firſt, in conveniency and reſpect; but firſt, in all virtues.

§. 16. Have a care of truſting to after-games, for then there is but one throw for all; and precipices are ill places to build upon. Wiſdom gains time, is before-hand, and teaches to chuſe ſeaſonably and pertinently; therefore ever ſtrike while the iron is hot. But if you loſe an opportunity, it differs, in this, from a relapſe; leſs caution, and more reſolution and induſtry, muſt recover it.

§. 17. Above all, remember your Creator; remember yourſelves and your families, when you have them, in the youthful time and fore-part of your life; for good methods and habits obtained then, will make you eaſy and happy the reſt of your days. Every eſtate has its ſnare: youth and middle-age, PLEASURE and AMBITION; old-age, AVARICE. Remember, I tell you, that man is a ſlave where either prevails. Beware of the pernicious luſts of the eye, and the fleſh, and the pride of life, 1 John ii. 15, 16, 17. which are not of the Father, but of the world. Get higher and nobler objects for your immortal part, O my dear children, and be not tied to things without you; for then you can never have the true and free enjoyment of yourſelves to better things; no more than a ſlave in *Algiers* has of his houſe or family in *London*. Be free, live at home, in yourſelves I mean, where lie greater treaſures hid than in the *Indies*. The pomp, honour, and luxury of the world, are the cheats, and the unthinking and inconſiderate are taken by them. But the retired man is upon higher ground, he ſees and is aware of the trick, contemns the folly, and bemoans the deluded. This very conſideration, doubtleſs, produced thoſe two paſſions in the two greateſt Gentiles

Gentiles of their time, Democritus and Heraclitus, the one laughing, the other weeping, for the madneſs of the world, to ſee ſo excellent and reaſonable a creature as man, ſo meanly trifling and ſlaviſhly employed.

§. 18. Chuſe *God*'s trades before *mens*. Adam was a gardener, Cain a plowman, and Abel a grazier or ſhepherd: theſe began with the world, and have leaſt of ſnare, and moſt of uſe. When Cain became *murderer*, as a * witty man ſaid, he turned a builder of *cities*, and quitted his *huſbandry*. Mechanicks, as handicrafts, are alſo commendable; but they are but a ſecond brood, and younger brothers. If *grace* employ you not, let *nature* and *uſeful arts*; but avoid curioſity there alſo, for it devours much time to no profit. I have ſeen a *cieling* of a room, that coſt half as much as the *houſe!* a folly, and ſin too.

§. 19. Have but few books, but let them be well choſen, and well read, whether of religious or civil ſubjects. Shun fantaſtick opinions: meaſure both religion and learning by practice; reduce all to that, for that brings a real benefit to you, the reſt is a thief and a ſnare. And, indeed, reading many books is but a taking off the mind too much from meditation. Reading yourſelves and nature, in the dealings and conduct of men, is the trueſt human wiſdom. The ſpirit of a man knows the things of a man; and more true knowledge comes by meditation and juſt reflection, than by reading; for much reading is an oppreſſion of the mind, and extinguiſhes the natural candle; which is the reaſon of ſo many ſenſeleſs ſcholars in the world.

§. 20 Do not that which you blame in another. Do not that to another, which you would not another ſhould do to you. But above all, do not that in God's ſight, you would not man ſhould ſee you do.

§. 21. And that you may order all things profitably, divide your day; ſuch a ſhare of time for your

* Cowley, in his Works on Agriculture.

retire-

retirement and worſhip of God; ſuch a proportion for your buſineſs; in which remember to ply that firſt which is firſt to be done; ſo much time for yourſelves, be it for ſtudy, walking, viſit, &c. In this be firſt, and let your friends know it, and you will cut off many impertinencies and interruptions, and ſave a treaſure of time to yourſelves, which people moſt unaccountably laviſh away. And to be more exact, (for much lies in this) keep a ſhort journal of your time, though a day require but a line; many advantages flow from it.

§. 22. Keep cloſe to the meetings of God's people, wait diligently at them, to feel the heavenly life in your hearts. Look for that, more than words in miniſtry, and you will profit moſt. Above all, look to the Lord; but deſpiſe not inſtruments, man or woman, young or old, rich or poor, learned or unlearned.

§. 23. Avoid diſcontented perſons, unleſs to inform or reprove them. Abhor detraction, the ſin of fallen angels, and the worſt of fallen men.

§. 24. Excuſe faults in others, own them in yourſelves, and forgive them againſt yourſelves, as you would have your heavenly Father and judge forgive you. Read Prov. xvii. 9. and Mat. vi. 14, 15. Chriſt returns and dwells upon that paſſage of his prayer above all the reſt, forgiveneſs, the hardeſt leſſon to man, that of all other creatures moſt needs it.

§. 25. Be natural; love one another; and remember, that to be void of natural affection, is a mark of apoſtacy ſet by the apoſtle, 2 Tim. iii. 3. Let not time, I charge you, wear out nature; it may kindred, according to cuſtom, but it is an ill one, therefore follow it not. It is a great fault in families at this day: have a care of it, and ſhun that unnatural careleſſneſs. Live as near as you can, viſit often, correſpond oftener, and communicate with kind hearts to one another, in proportion to what the Lord gives you; and do not be cloſe, nor hoard up from one another, as if you had no right or claim in one another, and did not deſcend of one moſt tender father and mother.

§. 26. What

§. 26. What I write is to yours, as well as you, if God gives you children. And in caſe a prodigal ſhould ever appear among them, make not his folly an excuſe to be ſtrange or cloſe, and ſo to expoſe ſuch an one to more evil: but ſhew bowels, as * John did to the young man that fell into ill company, whom with love he reclaimed, after his example that ſends his ſun and rain upon all.

§. 27. Love ſilence, even in the mind; for thoughts are to that, as words to the body, troubleſome: much ſpeaking, as much thinking, ſpends; and in many thoughts, as well as words, there is ſin. True ſilence is the reſt of the mind; and is to the ſpirit, what ſleep is to the body, nouriſhment and refreſhment. It is a great virtue; it covers folly, keeps ſecrets, avoids diſputes, and prevents ſin. See Job xiii. 5. Prov. x. 19. chap. xii. 13. chap. xiii. 3. chap. xviii. 6, 7. chap. xvii. 28.

§. 28. The wiſdom of nations lies in their proverbs, which are brief and pithy: collect and learn them, they are notable meaſures and directions for human life: you have much in little; they ſave time and ſpeaking; and, upon occaſion, may be the fulleſt and ſafeſt anſwers.

§. 29. Never meddle with other folks buſineſs, and leſs with the public, unleſs called to the one by the parties concerned (in which move cautiouſly and uprightly) and required to the other by the Lord, in a teſtimony for his name and truth; remembering that old, but moſt true and excellent proverb, *Bene qui latuit, bene vixit*, 'He lives happily, that lives hid-'denly or privately,' for he lives quietly. It is a treaſure to them that have it: ſtudy it, get it, keep it; too many miſs it that might have it: the world knows not the value of it. It doubles man's life, by giving him twice the time to himſelf, that a large acquaintance, or much buſineſs, will allow him.

* Euſeb. Eec. Hiſt. Lib. 3. cap. xxiii.

§. 30. Have

§. 30. Have a care of reſentment, or taking things amiſs; a natural, ready, and moſt dangerous paſſion: but be apter to remit than reſent; it is more Chriſtian and wiſe. For as ſoftneſs often conquers, where rough oppoſition fortifies; ſo reſentment, ſeldom knowing any bounds, makes many times greater faults than it finds: for ſome people have out-reſented their wrong ſo far, that they made themſelves faultier by it; by which they cancel the debt, through a boundleſs paſſion, overthrow their intereſt and advantage, and become debtor to the offender.

§. 31. Rejoice not at the calamity of any, though they be your enemies, Prov. xvii. 5. chap. xxiv. 17.

§. 32. Envy none; it is God that maketh rich and poor, great and ſmall, high and low, Pſalm xxxvii. 1. Prov. iii. 31. chap. xxiii. 17. chap. xxiv. 1. 1 Chron. xxii. 11, 12. Pſalm cvii. 40, 41.

§. 33. Be intreatable. Never aggravate. Never revile or give ill names: it is unmannerly, as well as unchriſtian. Remember Mat. v. 22. who it was ſaid, "He that calls his brother fool, is in danger of hell-"fire."

§. 34. Be not moroſe, or conceited: one is rude, the other troubleſome and nauſeous.

§. 35. Avoid queſtions and ſtrife: it ſhews a buſy and contentious diſpoſition.

§. 36. Add no credit to a report upon conjecture, nor report to the hurt of any. See Exod. xxiii. 1. Pſalm xv. 3.

§. 37. Beware of jealouſy, except it be godly; for it devours love and friendſhip; it breaks fellowſhip, and deſtroys the peace of the mind. It is a groundleſs and evil ſurmiſe.

§. 38. Be not too credulous. Read Prov. xiv. 15. Caution is a medium; I recommend it.

§. 39. Speak not of religion, neither uſe the name of God, in a familiar manner.

§. 40. Meddle not with government; never ſpeak of it; let others ſay or do as they pleaſe. But read ſuch books of law as relate to the office of a juſtice, a coro-

ner, ſheriff, and conſtable; alſo, "the doctor and "ſtudent;" ſome book of clerkſhip, and a Treatiſe of Wills, to enable you about your own private buſineſs only, or a poor neighbour's. For it is a charge I leave with you and yours, 'Meddle not with the publick, 'neither buſineſs nor money; but underſtand how to 'avoid it, and defend yourſelves, upon occaſion, againſt 'it.' For much knowledge brings ſorrow, and much doings more. Therefore know God, know yourſelves; love home, know your own buſineſs, and mind it, and you have more time and peace than your neighbours.

§. 41. If you incline to marry, then marry your inclination rather than your intereſt: I mean, what you love, rather than what is rich. But love for virtue, temper, education, and perſon, before wealth, or quality, and be ſure you are beloved again. In all which be not haſty, but ſerious; lay it before the Lord, proceed in his fear, and be you well adviſed. And when married, according to the way of God's people, uſed amongſt friends, out of whom only chuſe, ſtrictly keep covenant: avoid occaſion of miſ-underſtanding, allow for weakneſſes, and variety of conſtitution and diſpoſition, and take care of ſhewing the leaſt diſguſt or miſ-underſtanding to others, eſpecially your children. Never lie down with any diſpleaſure in your minds, but avoid occaſion of diſpute and offence; overlook and cover failings. Seek the Lord for one another; wait upon him together, morning and evening, in his holy fear, which will renew and confirm your love and covenant: give way to nothing that would in the leaſt violate it: uſe all means of true endearment, that you may recommend and pleaſe one another; remembering your relation and union is the figure of Chriſt's to his church: therefore let the authority of love only bear ſway your whole life.

§. 42. If God give you children, love them with wiſdom, correct them with affection: never ſtrike in paſſion, and ſuit the correction to their age as well as fault. Convince them of their error, before you chaſtiſe them; and try them, if they ſhew remorſe, before ſeverity;

never

never uſe that, but in caſe of obſtinacy or impenitency. Puniſh them more by their underſtandings than the rod, and ſhew them the folly, ſhame, and undutifulneſs of their faults rather with a grieved than an angry countenance, and you will ſooner affect their natures, and with a nobler ſenſe, than a ſervile and rude chaſtiſement can produce. I know the methods of ſome are ſevere corrections for faults, and artificial praiſes when they do well, and ſometimes rewards: but this courſe awakens paſſions worſe than their faults; for one begets baſe fear, if not hatred; the other pride and vain glory; both which ſhould be avoided in a religious education of youth; for they equally vary from it, and deprave nature. There ſhould be the greateſt care imaginable, what impreſſions are given to children: that method which earlieſt awakens their underſtandings to love, duty, ſobriety, juſt and honourable things, is to be preferred. Education is the ſtamp parents give their children; they paſs for that they breed them, or leſs value, perhaps, all their days. The world is in nothing more wanting and reproveable, both in precept and example; they do with their children as with their ſouls, put them out at livery for ſo much a year. They will truſt their eſtates or ſhops with none but themſelves; but for their ſouls and poſterity, they have leſs ſolicitude. But do you breed your children yourſelves, I mean as to their morals, and be their biſhops and teachers in the principles of converſation: as they are inſtructed, ſo they are likely to be qualified, and your poſterity by their precepts and examples, which they receive from yours. And were mankind herein more cautious, they would better diſcharge their duty to God and poſterity; and their children would owe them more for their education than for their inheritances. Be not unequal in your love to your children, at leaſt in the appearances of it: it is both unjuſt and indiſcreet: it leſſens love to parents, and provokes envy amongſt children. Let them wear the ſame clothes, eat of the ſame diſh, have the ſame allowance as to time and expence. Breed them to ſome employment, and give all equal but the eldeſt; and to

the eldeſt a double portion is very well. Teach them alſo frugality, and they will not want ſubſtance for their poſterity. A little beginning, with induſtry and thrift, will make an eſtate; but there is great difference between ſaving and ſordid. Be not ſcanty, any more than ſuperfluous; but rather make bold with yourſelves, than be ſtrait to others; therefore let your charity temper your frugality and theirs.

What I have writ to you, I have writ to your children, and theirs.

§. 43. Servants you will have, but remember, the fewer the better, and thoſe rather aged than young: you muſt make them ſuch, or diſpoſe of them often. Change is not good; therefore chuſe well, and the rather becauſe of your children; for children, thinking they can take more liberty with ſervants than with their parents, often chuſe the ſervants company, and if they are idle, wanton, ill examples, children are in great danger of being perverted. Let them, therefore, be friends, and ſuch as are well recommended: let them know their buſineſs, as well as their wages; and as they do the one, pay them honeſtly the other. Though ſervants, yet remember they are brethren in Chriſt, and that you alſo are but ſtewards, and muſt account to God. Wherefore, let your moderation appear unto them, and that will provoke them to diligence for love, rather than fear, which is the trueſt and beſt motive to ſervice. In ſhort, as you find them, ſo keep, uſe, and reward them, or diſmiſs them.

§. 44. Diſtruſt is of the nature of jealouſy, and muſt be warily entertained upon good grounds, or it is injurious to others, and inſtead of ſafe, troubleſome to you. If you truſt little, you will have but little cauſe to diſtruſt. Yet I have been often whiſpered in myſelf of perſons and things at firſt ſight and motion, that hardly ever failed to be true; though by neglecting the ſenſe, or ſuffering myſelf to be argued or importuned from it, I have more than once failed of my expectation. Have therefore a moſt tender and nice regard to thoſe firſt ſudden and unpremeditated ſenſations.

§. 45. For

§. 45. For your conduct in your buſineſs, and in the whole courſe of your life, though what I have ſaid to you, and recommended you to, might be ſufficient; yet I will be more particular as to thoſe good and gracious qualifications I pray God Almighty to ſeaſon and accompliſh you with, to his glory, and your temporal and eternal felicity.

CHAP. III.

§. 1. BE HUMBLE. It becomes a creature, a depending and borrowed being, that lives not of itſelf, but breathes in another's air, with another's breath, and is accountable for every moment of time, and can call nothing its own, but is abſolutely a tenant at will of the great Lord of heaven and earth. And of this excellent quality you cannot be wanting, if you dwell in the holy fear of the omnipreſent and all-ſeeing God: for that will ſhew you your vileneſs, and his excellency; your meanneſs, and his majeſty; and, withal, the ſenſe of his love to ſuch poor worms, in the teſtimonies he gives of his daily care, mercy, and goodneſs; that you cannot but be abaſed, laid low, and humble. I ſay, the fear and love of God begets humility, and humility fits you for God and men. You cannot ſtep well amiſs, if this virtue dwell but richly in you; for then God will teach you. "The humble he teach-"eth his ways," and they are all pleaſant and peaceable to his children: yea, "he giveth grace to the humble, "but reſiſteth the proud," Jam. iv. 6. 1 Pet. v. 5. "He regardeth the proud afar off," Pſalm cxxxviii. 6. "They ſhall not come near him, nor will he hear them "in the day of their diſtreſs." Read Prov. xi. 2. chap. xv. 33. chap. xvi. 18, 19. Humility ſeeks not the laſt word, nor firſt place; ſhe offends none, but prefers others, and thinks lowly of herſelf; is not rough or ſelf-conceited, high, loud, or domineering: bleſſed are they that enjoy her. "Learn of me," ſaid Chriſt, "for I am meek, and lowly in heart." He

waſhed his diſciples feet, John xiii. Indeed himſelf was the greateſt pattern of it. "Humility goes be-"fore honour," Prov. xviii. 12. There is nothing ſhines more clearly through Chriſtianity than humility; of this the holy author of it is the greateſt inſtance. He was humble in his incarnation; for he that thought it no robbery to be equal with God, humbled himſelf to become a man; and many ways made himſelf of no reputation. As firſt, In his birth, or deſcent, it was not of the princes of Judah, but a virgin of low degree, the eſpouſed of a carpenter; and ſo ſhe acknowledges, in her heavenly anthem, or ejaculation, Luke i. 47, 48, 52. ſpeaking of the great honour God had done her: "And "my Spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour, for he "hath regarded the low eſtate of his hand-maiden; "he has put down the mighty from their ſeats, and "exalted them of low degree." Secondly, He was humble in his life: he kept no court, but in deſerts and mountains, and in ſolitary places; neither was he ſerved in ſtate, his attendants being of the mechanick ſize. By the miracles he wrought, we may underſtand the food he eat, viz. barley-bread and fiſh; and it is not to be thought there was any curioſity in dreſſing them. And we have reaſon to believe his apparel was as moderate as his table. Thirdly, He was humble in his ſufferings and death: he took all affronts patiently, and in our nature triumphed over revenge: he was deſpiſed, ſpit upon, buffeted, whipped, and finally crucified between two thieves, as the greateſt malefactor; yet he never reviled them, but anſwered all in ſilence and ſubmiſſion, pitying, loving, and dying for thoſe, by whom he was ignominiouſly put to death. O mirror of humility! Let your eyes be continually upon it, that you may ſee yourſelves by it. Indeed his whole life was one continued great act of ſelf-denial: and becauſe he needed it not for himſelf, he muſt needs do it for us; "thereby leaving us an example, that we ſhould follow "his ſteps," 1 Pet. ii. 21. And as he was, we ſhould be in this world, according to the beloved diſciple, 1 John ii. 6. So what he did for us, was not to excuſe,

but

but excite, our humility. For as *he* is like *God*, we muſt be like *him*; and that the froward, the contentious, the revengeful, the ſtriker, the dueller, &c. cannot be ſaid to be of that number, is very evident. And the more to illuſtrate this virtue, I would have you conſider the folly and danger of *pride*, its oppoſite: for this it was that threw the angels out of heaven, man out of paradiſe, deſtroyed cities and nations, was one of the ſins of Sodom, Ezek. xvi. 49. the deſtruction of Aſſyria and Iſrael, Iſa. iii. 16. and the reaſon given by God for his great vengeance upon Moab and Ammon, Zeph. ii. 9, 10. Beſides, pride is the vaineſt paſſion that can rule in man, becauſe he has nothing of his *own* to be proud of; and to be proud of *another*'s, ſhews want of wit and honeſty too. He did not only not make himſelf, but is born the nakedeſt and moſt helpleſs of almoſt all creatures. Nor can he add to his days or ſtature, or ſo much as make one hair of his head white or black. He is ſo abſolutely in the power of another, that, as I have often ſaid, he is at beſt but a tenant at will of the great Lord of all, holding life, health, ſubſtance, and every thing at his ſovereign diſpoſal; and the more man enjoys, the leſs reaſon he has to be proud, becauſe he is the more indebted, and engaged to thankfulneſs and humility.

Wherefore avoid pride, as you would avoid the devil; remember you muſt die, and conſequently thoſe things muſt die with you, that could be any temptation to pride; and that there is a judgment follows, at which you muſt give an account, both for what you have enjoyed and done.

§. 2. From humility ſprings MEEKNESS. Of all the rare qualities of wiſdom, learning, valour, &c. with which Moſes was endued, he was denominated by his meekneſs: this gave the reſt a luſtre they muſt otherwiſe have wanted. The difference is not great between theſe excellent graces; yet the ſcripture obſerves ſome. "God will teach the humble his way, and guide the "meek in judgment." It ſeems to be humility perfectly digeſted, and from a virtue become a nature.

A meek man is one that is not eaſily provoked, yet eaſily grieved; not peeviſh or teſty, but ſoft, gentle, and inoffenſive. O bleſſed will you be, my dear children, if this grace adorn you! There are divers great and precious promiſes to the meek in ſcripture. "That "God will clothe the meek with ſalvation;" and "bleſſed are they, for they ſhall inherit the earth," Pſal. xxxvii. 11. Mat. v. 5. Chriſt preſſes it in his own example, "Learn of me, for I am meek," &c. Mat. xi. 29. And requires his to become as little children, in order to ſalvation, Mat. xviii. 3. And a meek and quiet ſpirit is of great price with the Lord, 1 Pet. iii. 4. It is a fruit of the Spirit, Gal. v. 22, 23. exhorted to, Eph. iv. 2. Col. iii. 12. Tit. iii. 2. and many places more to the ſame effect.

§. 3. PATIENCE, is an effect of a meek ſpirit, and flows from it: it is a bearing and ſuffering diſpoſition; not cholerick, or ſoon moved to wrath, or vindictive; but ready to hear, and endure too, rather than be ſwift and haſty in judgment or action. Job is as much famed for this, as was Moſes for the other virtue; without it there is no running the Chriſtian race, or obtaining the heavenly crown; without it there can be no experience of the work of God, Rom. v. 3, 4, 5. "For *patience* "worketh," ſaith the apoſtle, "*experience*;" nor hope of an eternal recompence, for *experience* worketh that *hope*. Therefore, ſays James, "Let patience have its "perfect work," James i. 4. It has made the ſaints excellency; "Here is the patience of the ſaints," Rev. xiii. 10. It is joined with the kingdom of Chriſt, Rev. i. 9. Read Luke xxi. 19. "In patience poſſeſs "your ſouls." Rom. xii. 12. chap. xv. 4. 2 Cor. vi. 4. 1 Theſ. v. 14. "Be patient towards all men," Tit. ii. 2. Heb. vi. 12. chap. x. 36. which ſhews the excellency and neceſſity of patience, as that does the true dignity of a man. It is wiſe, and will give you great advantage over thoſe you converſe with, on all accounts. For paſſion blinds mens eyes, and betrays mens weakneſs; patience ſees the advantage, and improves it. Patience enquires, deliberates, and brings to a mature judgment:

through

through your civil, as well as Chriſtian courſe, you cannot act wiſely and ſafely without it; therefore I recommend this bleſſed virtue to you.

§. 4. Shew MERCY, whenever it is in your power; that is, forgive, pity, and help, for ſo it ſignifies. Mercy is one of the attributes of God, Gen. xix. 19. Exod. xx. 6. Pſalm lxxxvi. 15. Jer. iii. 12. It is exalted in ſcripture above all his works, and is a noble part of his image in man. God hath recommended it, Hoſ. xii. 6. "Keep "mercy and judgment, and wait on the Lord." God hath ſhewn it to man, and made it his duty, Mich. vi. 8. "He hath ſhewed thee, O man, what is good, and what "doth the Lord require of thee, but to do juſtly, and "to love mercy, and to walk humbly," or to humble thyſelf to walk, "with thy God:" a ſhort but ample expreſſion of God's love, and man's duty; happy are you if you mind it; in which you ſee mercy is one of the nobleſt virtues. Chriſt has a bleſſing for them that have it, "Bleſſed are the merciful, (Mat. v.) for they "ſhall find mercy;" a ſtrong motive indeed. In Luke vi. 35, 36. he commands it. "Be you merciful, as "your Father is merciful." He bids the Jews, that were ſo over-righteous, but ſo very unmerciful, learn what this meaneth; "I will have mercy, and not ſacri-"fice," Mat. ix. 13. He hit them in the eye. And in his parable of the lord and his ſervants, he ſhews what will be the end of the unmerciful ſteward, Mat. xviii. 34, 35. that having been forgiven much by his maſter, would not forgive a little to his fellow-ſervant. Mercy is a great part of God's law, Exod. xxiii. 4, 5. It is a material part of God's true faſt, Iſa. lviii. 6, 7. It is a main part of God's covenant, Jer. xxxi. 34. Heb. viii. 12. And the reaſon and rule of the laſt judgment, Mat, xxv. 31. to the end: pray read it. It is a part of the undefiled religion, James i. 27. chap. iii. 17. Read Prov. xiv. 21, 22. But the merciful man's mercy reaches farther, even to his beaſt; then ſurely to man, his fellow-creature, he ſhall not want it. Wherefore, I charge you, oppreſs nobody, man nor beaſt. Take no advantage upon the unhappy; pity the afflicted; make their caſe

your

your own, and that of *their* wives and poor innocent children the condition of *yours*, and you cannot want ſympathy, bowels, forgiveneſs, nor a diſpoſition to help and ſuccour them to your ability. Remember it is the way for you to be forgiven, and helped in time of trial. Read the Lord's prayer, Luke xi. Remember the nature and goodneſs of Joſeph to his brethren; follow the example of the good Samaritan, and let Edom's unkindneſs to Jacob's ſtock, Obad. 10—16. and the Heathen's to Iſrael, Zech. i. 21. chap. ii. 8, 9. be a warning to you. Read alſo Prov. xxv. 21, 22. Rom. xii. 19, 20.

§. 5. CHARITY is a near neighbour to mercy. It is generally taken to conſiſt in this, 'Not to be cenſorious, 'and to relieve the poor.' For the firſt, remember you muſt be judged, Mat. vii. 1. And for the laſt, remember you are but ſtewards. "Judge not, therefore, leſt you "be judged." Be clear yourſelves, before you fling the ſtone. Get the beam out of your own eye; it is humbling doctrine, but ſafe. Judge, therefore, at your own peril: ſee it be righteous judgment, as you will anſwer it to the great Judge. This part of charity alſo excludes whiſpering, backbiting, tale-bearing, evil-ſurmiſing, moſt pernicious follies and evils, of which beware. Read 1 Cor. xiii. For the other part of charity, relieving the poor, it is a debt you owe to God: you have all you have or may enjoy, with the rent-charge upon it. The ſaying is, 'He who gives to the 'poor, lends to the Lord:' but it may be ſaid, not improperly, 'The Lord lends to *us* to give to the *poor*:' they are, at leaſt, partners by providence with you, and have a right you muſt not defraud them of. You have this privilege, indeed, when, what, and to whom; and yet, if you heed your guide, and obſerve the object, you will have a rule for that too.

I recommend little children, widows, infirm and aged perſons, chiefly to you: ſpare ſomething out of your own belly, rather than let theirs go pinched. Avoid that great ſin of needleſs expence on your perſons and on your houſes, while the poor are hungry and naked. My bowels have often been moved, to ſee very aged and infirm

infirm people, but eſpecially poor helpleſs children, lie all night, in bitter weather, at the threeſhold of doors, in the open ſtreets, for want of better lodging. I have made this reflection, 'If *you* were ſo expoſed, how hard 'would it be to endure!' The difference between *our* condition and *theirs* has drawn from me humble thanks to God, and great compaſſion, and ſome ſupply, to thoſe poor creatures. Once more, be good to the poor: what do I ſay? Be juſt to *them*, and you will be good to *yourſelves*: think it your duty, and do it religiouſly. Let the moving paſſage, Mat. xxv. 35. to the end, live in your minds: "I was *an hungry*, and *thirſty*, and *naked*, "*ſick*, and in *priſon*, and you *adminiſtered* unto "me," and the bleſſing that followed: alſo what he ſaid to another ſort, "I was *an hungry*, and *thirſty*, and "*naked*, and *ſick*, and in *priſon*, and you adminiſtered "*not* unto me!" For a dreadful ſentence follows to the hard-hearted world. "Woe be to them that take the "poor's pledge," Ezek. xviii. 12, 13. or eat up the poor's *right*. O devour not *their* part! leſs lay it out in *vanity*, or lays it up in *bags*, for it will curſe the *reſt*. Hear what the Pſalmiſt ſays, Pſal. xli. "Bleſſed is he "that conſidereth the poor, the Lord will deliver him "in time of trouble: the Lord will preſerve and keep "him alive, and he ſhall be bleſſed upon the earth: "and thou wilt not deliver him into the will of his "enemies. The Lord will ſtrengthen him upon the "bed of languiſhing: thou wilt make all his bed in "his ſickneſs." This is the reward of being faithful ſtewards and treaſurers for the poor of the earth. Have a care of excuſes; they are, I know, ready at hand: but read Prov. iii. 27, 28. "With-hold not good from "them to whom it is due, when it is in the power of "of thine hand to do it. Say not unto thy neighbour, "Go, and come again, and to-morrow I will give, "when thou haſt it by thee." Alſo bear in mind Chriſt's doctrine, Mat. v. 42. "Give to him that aſk-"eth thee, and from him that would borrow of thee, "turn not thou away." But above all, remember the poor woman, that gave her mite; which Chriſt preferred

above

above all, becauſe ſhe gave all, but it was to God's treaſury, Mark xii. 42, 43, 44.

§. 6. LIBERALITY, or *bounty*, is a noble quality in man, entertained of few, yet praiſed of all; but the covetous diſlike it, becauſe it reproaches their ſordidneſs. In this ſhe differs from *charity*, that ſhe has ſometimes *other* objects, and exceeds in proportion. For ſhe will caſt her eye on thoſe that do *not* abſolutely *want*, as well as thoſe that *do*; and always outdoes neceſſities and ſervices. She finds out virtue in a low degree, and exalts it. She eaſes their burden that labour hard to live: many kind and generous ſpells ſuch find at her hand, that do not quite want, whom ſhe thinks worthy. The decayed are ſure to hear of her: ſhe takes one child, and puts out another, to lighten the loads of overcharged parents; more, to the fatherleſs. She ſhews the value of ſervices, in her rewards; and is never debtor to kindneſſes, but will be creditor on all accounts. Where another gives ſix-pence, the liberal man gives his ſhilling; and returns double the tokens he receives. But liberality keeps temper too; ſhe is not extravagant, any more than ſhe is ſordid; for ſhe hates niggards feaſts, as much as niggards faſts; and as ſhe is free, and not ſtarched, ſo ſhe is plentiful, but not ſuperfluous and extravagant. You will hear of her in all hiſtories, eſpecially in ſcripture, the wiſeſt as well as beſt of books: her excellency and her reward are there. She is commanded and commended, Deut. xv. 3, 4, 7, 8. and Pſalm xxxvii. 21, 26. "The righteous "ſheweth mercy, and giveth; and the good man is "merciful, and ever lendeth. He ſhews favour, and "lendeth, and diſperſeth abroad," Pſalm cxii. 5, 9. "There is that ſcattereth, and yet increaſeth; and "there is that with-holdeth more than is meet, but it "tendeth to poverty: the liberal ſoul ſhall be fat," Prov. xi. 24, 25. "The bountiful eye ſhall be bleſſed:" Prov. xxii. 9. The churl, and liberal man, are deſcribed, and a promiſe to the latter, that his liberality ſhall uphold him, Iſa. xxxii. 78. Chriſt makes it a part of his religion, and the way to be the children of the higheſt

higheſt (read Luke vi. 34, 35.) to lend and not receive again, and this to enemies, as well as friends; yea, to the unthankful, and to the evil; no exception made, no excuſe admitted. The apoſtle Paul, 2 Cor. ix. 5, 10. enjoins it, threatens the ſtrait-handed, and promiſes the open-hearted a liberal reward.

Whereſoever, therefore, my dear children, liberality is required of you, God enabling of you, ſow not ſparingly nor grudgingly, but with a chearful mind, and you ſhall not go without your reward; though that ought not to be your motive. But avoid oſtentation, for that is uſing virtue to vanity, which will run you to profuſeneſs, and that to want; which begets greedineſs, and that avarice, the contrary extreme; as men may go weſtward till they come eaſt, and travel till they, and thoſe they left behind them, ſtand antipodes, up and down.

§. 7. JUSTICE, or *righteouſneſs*, is another attribute of God, Deut. xxxii. 4. Pſalm ix. 7, 8. v. 8. Dan. ix. 7. Of large extent in the life and duty of man. Be juſt, therefore, in all things, to all: to God, as your Creator; render to him that which is his, your hearts; for that acknowledgment he has reſerved to himſelf, by which only you are intitled to the comforts of this and a better life. And if he has your hearts, you have him for your treaſure, and with him all things requiſite to your felicity. Render alſo to Cæſar that which is his, lawful ſubjection; not for fear only, but conſcience ſake. To parents, a filial love and obedience. To one another, natural affection. To all people, in doing as you would be done by. Hurt no man's name or perſon. Covet no man's property in any ſort. Conſider well of David's tenderneſs to Saul, when he ſought his life, to excite your duty; and Ahab's unjuſt covetouſneſs, and murder of Naboth, to provoke your abhorrence of injuſtice. David, though anointed king, took no advantages; "he believed, and therefore did not make "haſte," but left it to God, to conclude Saul's reign, for he would not haſten it. A right method, and a good end,

end, my dear children; God has ſhewn it you, and requires it of you.

Remember the tenth commandment: it was God gave it, and that will judge you by it. It comprehends reſtitution, as well as acquiſition, and eſpecially the poor man's wages, Lev. xix. 13. Deut. xxiv. 14, 15. Jer. xxii. 13. Amos v. 11. Mal. iii. 5. Samuel is a great and good example of righteouſneſs, 1 Sam. xii. 3. He challenged the whole houſe of Iſrael, whom he had oppreſſed or defrauded. The like did the apoſtle to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. vii. 2. He exhorted the Chriſtians to be careful that they did not defraud, 1 Theſ. iv. 6. for this reaſon, "that God was the avenger of the in-"jured." But as bad as it was, there muſt be no going to law amongſt Chriſtians, 1 Cor. vi. 7. To your utmoſt power, therefore, owe no one any thing but love, and that in prudence, as well as righteouſneſs: for juſtice gives you reputation, and adds a bleſſing to your ſubſtance: it is the beſt ſecurity you can have for it.

I will cloſe this head, with a few ſcriptures to each branch. To your ſuperiors: "Submit yourſelves to "every ordinance of man, for the *Lord*'s ſake:" 1 Pet. ii. 13. "Obey thoſe that have the rule over you," Heb. xiii. 17. "Speak not evil of dignities," Jude viii. 2 Pet. ii. 10. "My ſon, fear thou the Lord and the king, "and meddle not with them that are given to change," Prov. xxiv. 21. To your parents: "Honour your "father and your mother, that your days may be long "in the land which the Lord your God ſhall give you," Exod. xx. 12. "Children, obey your parents, it is the "firſt command with *promiſe*," Epheſ. vi. 1, 2. Great judgments follow thoſe that diſobey this law, and defraud their parents of their due. "Whoſo robbeth his "father or his mother, and ſaith, It is no tranſgreſſion, "the ſame is the companion of a deſtroyer," Prov. xxviii. 24. Or ſuch would *deſtroy* their parents, if they could. It is charged by the prophet Ezekiel upon Jeruſalem, as a mark of her wicked ſtate: "In thee have thy prin-"ces ſet lightly by father and mother, oppreſſed "ſtrangers, and vexed fatherleſs and widows," Ezek.

xxii.

xxii. 6, 7. To thy neighbour: hear what God's ſervants taught. "To do juſtice and judgment, is more ac-"ceptable to the Lord, than ſacrifice," Prov. xxi. 3. "Divers weights and meaſures are alike abomination "unto the Lord," Levit. xix. 36. Deut. xxv. 13 to 16. incluſive. Prov. xi. 1. chap. xx. 10, 23. Read Prov. xxii. 16, 22, 23. chap. xxiii. 10, 11. Peruſe the vith. of Micah, alſo Zech. viii. 16, 17. and eſpecially the xvth. Pſalm, as a ſhort, but full, meaſure of life, to give acceptance with God.

I have ſaid but little to you of diſtributing juſtice, or being juſt in power or government; for I ſhould deſire you may never be concerned therein, unleſs it were upon your own principles; and then the leſs the better, unleſs God require it from you. But if it ever be your lot, know no man after the fleſh; know neither rich nor poor, great nor ſmall, nor kindred, nor ſtranger, but the *cauſe*, according to your underſtanding and conſcience, and that upon deliberate enquiry and information. Read Exod. xxiii. from 1 to 10. Deut. i. 16, 17. chap. xvi. 19, 20. chap. xxiv. 17. 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. Jer. xxii. 3, 4. Prov. xxiv. 23. Lam. iii. 35, 36. Hoſ. xii. 6. Amos viii. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Zeph. ii. 3. chap. iii. 1, 3. Zech. vii. 9, 10. Jer. v. 4, 5, 6. chap. viii. 6, 7. which ſhews both God's commands and complaints, and man's duty in authority; which, as I ſaid before, wave induſtriouſly at all times; for privacy is freed from the clamour, danger, incumbrance, and temptation, that attend ſtations in government: never meddle with it, but for *God's* ſake.

§. 8. INTEGRITY, is a great and commendable virtue. A man of integrity, is a *true* man, a *bold* man, and a *ſteady* man; he is to be truſted and relied upon. No bribes can corrupt him; no fear daunt him, his word is *ſlow* in coming, but *ſure*. He ſhines brighteſt in the fire, and his friend hears of him moſt, when he moſt *needs* him. His courage grows with danger, and conquers oppoſition by conſtancy. As he cannot be flattered or frighted into that he diſlikes, ſo he hates flattery and temporizing in others. He runs with truth, and not with the times; with right, and not with might.

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His rule is ſtraight; ſoon *ſeen*, but ſeldom *followed*: it hath done great things. It was *integrity* preferred Abel's offering, tranſlated Enoch, ſaved Noah, raiſed Abraham to be God's friend, and father of a great nation, reſcued Lot out of Sodom, bleſſed and increaſed Jacob, kept and exalted Joſeph, upheld and reſtored Job, honoured Samuel before Iſrael, crowned David over all difficulties, and gave Solomon peace and glory, while he kept it: it was this preſerved Mordecai and his people, and ſo ſignally defended Daniel among the lions, and the children in the flames, that it drew from the greateſt king upon earth, and an *heathen* too, a moſt pathetical confeſſion to the *power* and *wiſdom* of the *God* that ſaved them, and which they ſerved. Thus is the ſcripture fulfilled, "The "integrity of the upright ſhall guide them." Prov. xi. 3. O my dear children! fear, love, and obey this *great*, *holy*, and *unchangeable God*, and you ſhall be happily guided, and preſerved through your pilgrimage to eternal glory.

§. 9. GRATITUDE, or *thankfulneſs*, is another virtue of great luſtre, and ſo eſteemed with God, and all good men: it is an owning of benefits received, to their honour and ſervice that confer them. It is, indeed, a noble ſort of juſtice, and might, in a ſenſe, be referred as a branch to that head; with this difference though, 'That ſince benefits exceed juſtice, the 'tie is greater to be grateful, than to be juſt;' and conſequently there is ſomething baſer, and more reproachful, in *ingratitude* than *injuſtice*. So that though you are not obliged, by legal bonds or judgments, to reſtitution with due intereſt, your virtue, honour, and humanity, are natural pledges for your thankfulneſs: and by how much the leſs you are under external ties, eſteem your inward ties ſo much the ſtronger. Thoſe that can break them, would know no bounds: for make it a rule to you, the ungrateful would be unjuſt too, but for fear of the law. Always own, therefore, the benefits you receive; and then, to chuſe, when they may moſt honour or ſerve thoſe that conferred

ferred them. Some have lived to need the favours they have done; and ſhould they be put to aſk, where they ought to be invited? No matter if they have nothing to ſhew for it; they ſhew enough, when they ſhew themſelves to thoſe they have obliged: and ſuch ſee enough to induce their gratitude, when they ſee their benefactors in adverſity; the leſs law, the more grace, and the ſtronger tie. It is an evangelical virtue, and works as faith does, only by *love:* in this it exactly reſembles a Chriſtian ſtate; we are not under the law, but under grace, and it is by grace, and not by merit, that we are ſaved. But are our obligations the leſs to God, that he heaps his favours ſo undeſervedly upon us? Surely no. It is the like here; that which we receive is not owed, or compelled, but freely given; ſo no tie, but choice, a *voluntary* goodneſs without bargain or condition: but has this therefore no ſecurity? Yes, certainly, the greateſt; a judgment writ and acknowledged in the mind: he is his to the *altar*, with a *good conſcience:* but how long? As long as he lives. The characters of gratitude, like thoſe of friendſhip, are only defaced by death, elſe indelible. "A friend loveth at all times," ſays Solomon, Prov. xvii. 17. c. xxvii. 10. "And thine "own friend, and thy father's friend, forſake not." It is *injuſtice*, which makes gratitude a *precept*. There are three ſorts of men that can hardly be grateful: the fearful man, for in danger he loſes his heart, with which he ſhould help his friend: the proud man, for he takes that virtue for a reproach: he that unwillingly remembers he owes any thing to God, will not readily remember he is beholden to man. Hiſtory lays it to the charge of ſome of this ſort of great men, that, uneaſy to ſee the authors of their greatneſs, have not been quiet, till they have accompliſhed the ruin of thoſe that raiſed them. Laſtly, The covetous man is as ill at it as the other two; his gold has ſpoiled his memory, and will not let him dare be grateful, though perhaps he owes the beſt part, at leaſt the beginning of it, to another's favour. As

there is nothing more unworthy in a man, ſo nothing in man ſo frequently reproached in ſcripture. How often does God put the Jews in mind for their forgetfulneſs and unthankfulneſs for the mercies and favours they received from him, read Deut. xxxii. 15. "Jeſhurun waxed fat, and kicked againſt God, grew unmindful, *forgot* and *forſook* his Rock, that had done "mighty things for him." Thus Moſes, Deut. xxxi. 16, 17. Alſo Judg. x, 11, 12, 13. and 1 Sam. viii. 8. David likewiſe, in his lxxviii, cv, cvi. Pſalms, gives an hiſtory of God's love to Iſrael, and their ingratitude. So Iſa. xvii. 1 to 11. Likewiſe Jer. ii. 31, 32. c. v. 7 to 20. c. xv. 6. c. xvi. 10, 11, 12, 20, 21. c. xviii. 15. Hoſ. viii. 9. It is a mark of apoſtacy from Chriſtianity, by the apoſtle, 2 Tim. iii. 2.

§. 10. DILIGENCE, is another virtue, uſeful and laudable among men: it is a diſcreet and underſtanding application of one's ſelf to buſineſs; and avoids the extremes of idleneſs and drudgery. It gives great advantages to men: it loſes no time, it conquers difficulties, recovers diſappointments, gives diſpatch, ſupplies want of parts; and is that to them, which a pond is to a ſpring; though it has no water of itſelf, it will keep what it gets, and is never dry. Though that has the heels, this has the wind; and often wins the prize. Nor does it only concern handicrafts and bodily affairs; the mind is alſo engaged, and grows foul, ruſty, and diſtempered without it. It belongs to you, throughout your whole man: be no more ſauntering in your minds than in your bodies. And if you would have the full benefit of this virtue, do not baulk it by a confuſed mind. Shun diverſions; think only of the preſent buſineſs, till that be done. Be buſy to purpoſe; for a buſy man, and a man of buſineſs, are two different things. Lay your matters right, and diligence ſucceeds them; elſe pains are loſt. How laborious are ſome to no purpoſe! Conſider your end well, ſuit your means to it, and then diligently employ them, and you arrive where you would be, with God's bleſſing. Solomon praiſes diligence very highly.

highly. First, It is the way to wealth: "The diligent "hand makes rich," Prov. x. 4. "The ſoul of the di- "ligent ſhall be made fat," ch. xiii. 4. There is a promiſe to it, and one of another ſort to the ſluggard, ch. xxiii. 21. Secondly, It prefers men, ver. 29. "Seeſt thou a man diligent in his buſineſs, he ſhall "ſtand before kings." Thirdly, It preſerves an eſtate: "Be thou diligent to know the ſtate of thy "flocks, and look well to thy herd; for riches are "not for ever," ch. xxvii. 23, 24. There is no living upon the principal; you muſt be diligent to preſerve what you have, whether it be acquiſition or inheritance; elſe it will conſume. In ſhort, the wiſe man adviſes, "Whatſoever thy hand finds to do, do "it with thy might." Eccl. ix. 10. As it mends a temporal ſtate, no ſpiritual one can be got or kept without it. Moſes earneſtly preſſes it upon the Iſraelites, Deut. iv. 9. and 6. 7. The apoſtle Paul commends it in the Corinthians, and Titus to them for that reaſon, 2 Cor. viii. 7, 22. So he does Timothy to the Philippians on the ſame account, and urges them to work out their ſalvation, Phil. ii. 12, 20, 21. Peter alſo exhorts the churches to that purpoſe: "Wherefore the rather, brethren," ſays he, "give "diligence to make your calling and election ſure: "for if you do theſe things you ſhall never fail," 2 Pet. i. 10. and in ch. iii. 13, 14. "Wherefore be- "loved, ſeeing that you look for ſuch things," (the end of the world, and laſt judgment) "be diligent, "that you may be found of him in peace, without "ſpot, and blameleſs." Thus diligence is an approved virtue: but remember, that is a reaſonable purſuit or execution of honeſt purpoſes, and not an overcharging or oppreſſive proſecution, to mind or body, of moſt lawful enterprizes. Abuſe it not, therefore, to ambition or avarice. Let neceſſity, charity, and conveniency govern it, and it will be well employed, and you may expect proſperous returns.

§. 11. FRUGALITY is a virtue too, and not of little uſe in life; the better way to be rich, for it has leſs

toil and temptation. It is proverbial, "A penny ſa-"ved is a penny got:" it has a ſignificant moral; for this way of getting is more in your own power, and leſs ſubject to hazard, as well as ſnares, free of envy, void of ſuits, and is before-hand with calamities. For many get, that cannot keep; and for want of frugality, ſpend what they get, and ſo come to want what they have ſpent. But have a care of the extreme: want not with abundance, for that is avarice, even to ſordidneſs: it is fit you conſider children, age, and caſualties; but never pretend thoſe things, to palliate and gratify covetouſneſs. As I would have you liberal, but not prodigal; and diligent, but not drudging; ſo I would have you frugal, but not ſordid. If you can, lay up one half of your income for thoſe uſes; in which let charity have at leaſt the ſecond conſideration; but not Judas's, for that was in the wrong place.

§. 12. Temperance I moſt earneſtly recommend to you, throughout the whole courſe of your life: it is numbered amongſt "the fruits of the ſpirit." Gal. xxii. 23. and is a great and requiſite virtue. Properly and ſtrictly ſpeaking, it refers to diet; but in general may be conſidered as having relation to all the affections and practices of men. I will therefore begin with it in regard to food, the ſenſe in which it is cuſtomarily taken. Eat to live, and not live to eat, for that is below a beaſt. Avoid curioſities and provocations; let your chiefeſt ſauce be a good ſtomach, which temperance will help to get you. You cannot be too plain in your diet, ſo you are clean; nor too ſparing, ſo you have enough for nature. For that which keeps the body low, makes the ſpirit clear; as ſilence makes it ſtrong. It conduces to good digeſtion, that to good reſt, and that to a firm conſtitution. Much leſs *feaſt* any, except the poor; as Chriſt taught, Luke xiv. 12, 13. For entertainments are rarely without ſin: but receive ſtrangers readily. As in diet, ſo in apparel, obſerve, I charge you, an exemplary plainneſs. Chuſe your clothes for their uſe-

fulneſs,

fulneſs, not the faſhion; and for covering, and not finery, or to pleaſe a vain mind, in yourſelves or others: they are *fallen* ſouls, that think clothes can give beauty to man. "The life is more than rai-"ment." Matt. vi. 25. Man cannot mend God's work, who can give neither life nor parts. They ſhew little eſteem for the wiſdom and power of their Creator, that under-rate his workmanſhip (I was a going to ſay his image) to a taylor's invention: groſs folly and profanity! but do you, my dear children, call to mind who they were of old, that Jeſus ſaid, took ſo much care about what they ſhould eat, drink, and put on. Were they not Gentiles, Heathens, a people without God in the world? Read Matt. vi. and when you have done that, peruſe thoſe excellent paſſages of the apoſtles Paul and Peter, 1 Tim. ii. 9, 10. and 1 Pet. iii. 3, 5. where, if you find the exhortation to women only, conclude it was effeminate, and a ſhame then for men to uſe ſuch arts and coſt upon their perſons. Follow you the example of thoſe primitive Chriſtians, and not voluptuous Gentiles, that perverted the very order of things: for they ſet luſt above nature, and the means above the end, and preferred vanity to conveniency: a wanton exceſs, that has no ſenſe of God's mercies, and therefore cannot make a right uſe of them, and leſs yield the returns they deſerve. In ſhort, theſe intemperances are great enemies to health and to poſterity; for they diſeaſe the body, rob children, and diſappoint charity, and are of evil example; very catching, as well as pernicious evils. Nor do they end there: they are ſucceeded by other vices, which made the apoſtle put them together in his epiſtle to the Galatians, chap. v. 20, 21. The evil fruits of this part of intemperance, are ſo many and great, that, upon a ſerious reflection, I believe there is not a country, town, or family, almoſt, that does not labour under the miſchief of it. I recommend to your peruſal the firſt part of "No Croſs, "No Crown," and of the "Addreſs to Proteſtants," in which I am more particular in my cenſure of it:

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as are the authorities I bring in favour of moderation. But the virtue of temperance does not only regard eating, drinking, and apparel; but furniture, attendance, expence, gain, parſimony, buſineſs, diverſion, company, ſpeech, ſleeping, watchings, and every paſſion of the mind, love, anger, pleaſure, joy, ſorrow, reſentment, are all concerned in it: therefore bound your deſires, teach your wills ſubjection, take Chriſt for your example, as well as guide. It was he that led and taught a life of faith in providence, and told his diſciples the danger of the cares and pleaſures of this world; they choaked the ſeed of the kingdom, ſtifled and extinguiſhed virtue in the ſoul, and rendered man barren of good fruit. His ſermon upon the mount is one continued divine authority in favour of an univerſal temperance. The apoſtle, well aware of the neceſſity of this virtue, gave the Corinthians a ſeaſonable caution. "Know ye not," ſays he, "that "they which run in a race, run all, but one receiveth "the prize? So run that ye may obtain. And every "man that ſtriveth for maſtery, (or ſeeketh *victory*) is "temperate in all things:" (he acts diſcreetly, and with a right judgment.) "Now, *they* do it to obtain "a corruptible crown, but *we* an incorruptible. I "therefore ſo run, as not uncertainly; ſo fight I, not "as one that beateth the air: but I keep under my "body, and bring it into ſubjection; leſt that by any "means, when I have preached to others, I myſelf "ſhould become a caſtaway," 1 Cor. ix. 25, 27. In an another chapter he preſſes the temperance almoſt to indifferency: "But this I ſay, brethren, the time is "ſhort: it remaineth then, that both they that have "wives, be as though they had none; and thoſe that "weep, as though they wept not; and they that re-"joice, as though they rejoiced not; and they that "uſe this world, as not abuſing it." And all this is not without reaſon: he gives a very good one for it. "For," ſaith he, "the faſhion of the world paſſeth "away: but I would have you without careſulneſs," 1 Cor. vii. 29.—32. It was for this cauſe he preſſed

it

it ſo hard upon Titus to warn the elders of that time to be ſober, grave, temperate, Tit. ii. 2. not eager, violent, obſtinate, tenacious, or inordinate in any ſort. He makes it an indiſpenſable duty in paſtors of churches, that they be "not ſelf-willed, ſoon angry, given "to wine or filthy lucre, but lovers of hoſpitality, of "good men, ſober, juſt, holy, temperate," Tit. i. 7, 8. And why ſo? Becauſe againſt theſe excellent virtues "there is no law," Gal. v. 23.

I will ſhut up this head (being touched upon in divers places of this advice) with this one moſt comprehenſive paſſage of the apoſtle, Philip. iv. 5. "Let "your moderation be known unto all men, for the "Lord is at hand." As if he had ſaid, 'Take heed! 'look to your ways! have a care what ye do! for the 'Lord is near you, even at the door; he ſees you, he 'marks your ſteps, tells your wanderings, and he will 'judge you.' Let this excellent, this home and cloſe ſentence live in your minds: let it ever dwell upon your ſpirits, my beloved children, and influence all your actions, aye, your affections and thoughts. It is a noble meaſure, ſufficient to regulate the whole; they that have it, are eaſy as well as ſafe. No extreme prevails; the world is kept at arm's-end; and ſuch have power over their own ſpirits, which gives them the trueſt enjoyment of themſelves and what they have: a dominion greater than that of empires. O may this virtue be yours! you have grace from God for that end, and it is ſufficient: employ it, and you cannot miſs of temperance, nor therein of the trueſt happineſs in all your conduct.

§. 13. I have choſen to ſpeak in the language of the ſcripture; which is that of the Holy Ghoſt, the ſpirit of truth and wiſdom, that wanted no art or direction of man to ſpeak by, and expreſs itſelf fitly to man's underſtanding. But yet that bleſſed PRINCIPLE, the ETERNAL WORD, I begun with to you, and which is that light, ſpirit, grace and truth, I have exhorted you to in all its holy appearances or manifeſtations in yourſelves,

yourſelves, by which all things were at firſt made, and man enlightened to ſalvation, is

Pythagoras's Great Light and Salt of Ages:

Anaxagoras's Divine Mind:

Socrates's Good Spirit.

Timæus's Unbegotten Principle, and Author of all Light:

Hieron's God in Man:

Plato's Eternal, Ineffable, and Perfect Principle of Truth:

Zeno's Maker and Father of all: and

Plotin's Root of the Soul:

Who as they thus ſtiled the ETERNAL WORD, ſo for the appearance of it in man, they wanted not very ſignificant words:

"A Domeſtick God, or God within," ſay *Hieron*, *Pythagoras*, *Epictetus*, and *Seneca*.

"Genius, Angel, or Guide," ſay *Socrates* and *Timæus*.

"The Light and Spirit of God," ſays *Plato*:

"The Divine Principle in Man," ſays *Plotin*:

"The Divine Power and Reaſon, the Infallible, "Immortal Law in the Minds of men," ſays *Philo*: and

"The Law and Living Rule of the Mind, the In-"terior Guide of the Soul, and Everlaſting Founda-"tion of Virtue," ſays *Plutarch*.

Of which you may read more in the firſt Part of "The Chriſtian Quaker," and in the "Confutation "of Atheiſm, by Dr. Cudworth."

Theſe are ſome of thoſe virtuous Gentiles commended by the apoſtle, Rom. ii. 13, 14, 15. who though they had not the law given to them, as the Jews had, with thoſe inſtrumental helps and advantages, yet doing by nature the things contained in the law, they became a law unto themſelves.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

WILLIAM PENN.

FINIS.